

THE NATIONAL GUARD RESPONSE STORY:
DO A BETTER JOB OF TELLING IT TO THE MEDIA

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army
Command and General Staff College in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
Homeland Security Studies

by

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Fort Leavenworth, Kansas
2008

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE				Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
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1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 12-12-2008		2. REPORT TYPE Master's Thesis		3. DATES COVERED (From - To) FEB 2008 – DEC 2008	
4. TITLE AN-D SUBTITLE THE NATIONAL GUARD RESPONSE STORY: DO A BETTER JOB OF TELLING IT TO THE MEDIA				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) Major Linda K. Lewis				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army Command and General Staff College ATTN: ATZL-SWD-GD Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2301				8. PERFORMING ORG REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for Public Release; Distribution is Unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT This research study examines three recent disasters and the way that the National Guard was able to get their response story into the media. It reviews National Guard response and components of the media such as the story on national television stations, the conversations of key leaders, the presence of key national and state leaders during a response, and the follow-up stories once the initial disaster response is completed. In the case of Hurricane Katrina, it was such a large scale storm that the scope of the disaster dictated the form of media it received. The Greensburg Tornado was a devastating disaster that almost completely wiped out a Midwestern town and garnered the sympathy of the President of the United States. The Coffeyville Floods were a quiet devastation that, despite the oil spill from a local refinery, received almost no national attention. This study considers the National Guard response to these disasters, evaluates that response in a DOTMLPF format, and then makes a recommendation that each State to organize a Mobile Public Affairs Detachment and use it to do a better job of telling the National Guard response story, and ensure that national level media is included into the disaster response planning at the highest levels in order to avoid the use of the media as a marketing and recruiting tool only.					
15. SUBJECT TERMS Media, National Guard, Hurricane Katrina, case studies, Greensburg Tornado, Coffeyville Floods, disaster response, mobile public affairs detachments					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT (U)	b. ABSTRACT (U)	c. THIS PAGE (U)			19b. PHONE NUMBER (include area code)
			(U)	125	

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 8-98)
Prescribed by ANSI Std. Z39.18

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

ABSTRACT

THE NATIONAL GUARD RESPONSE STORY: DO A BETTER JOB OF TELLING IT TO THE MEDIA, by Major Linda K. Lewis, 125 pages

This research study examines three recent disasters and the way that the National Guard was able to get their response story into the media. It reviews National Guard response and components of the media such as the story on national television stations, the conversations of key leaders, the presence of key national and state leaders during a response, and the follow-up stories once the initial disaster response is completed. In the case of Hurricane Katrina, it was such a large scale storm that the scope of the disaster dictated the form of media it received. The Greensburg Tornado was a devastating disaster that almost completely wiped out a Midwestern town and garnered the sympathy of the President of the United States. The Coffeyville Floods were a quiet devastation that, despite the oil spill from a local refinery, received almost no national attention. This study considers the National Guard response to these disasters, evaluates that response in a DOTMLPF format, and then makes a recommendation that each State to organize a Mobile Public Affairs Detachment and use it to do a better job of telling the National Guard response story, and ensure that national level media is included into the disaster response planning at the highest levels in order to avoid the use of the media as a marketing and recruiting tool only.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, I must thank God. It is an absolute miracle, through the course of several changes in status and locations, that I was even able to attend the Command and General Staff College (CGSC). I will forever be grateful to Him for this opportunity. The second thing that I am grateful to Him for is the selection of my committee. We (CGSC Students) choose our committees in the beginning of the course before we really have the opportunity to know any of them. He guided my selection. Dr. Kem and I attended the same Sunday school class together at the Main Chapel on post. It afforded the opportunity to discuss the paper without the extra burden of additional appointments or meetings. Mr. Boyce provided the most detailed and timely feedback of any instructor I have had in my entire career. It allowed me to keep moving on the paper, which I needed because I had procrastinated starting it until July. Mr. Gerling was very reassuring, gave me the push I needed at the times I needed it, and reminded me of the lessons learned that could be the basis for my paper. Mr. Cupp agreed to be my committee chair despite his hectic schedule and the preparation of his own doctoral thesis. No student at CGSC survives the year without the support of the staff group teaching team. Dr. Brown, COL Farley, LTC Pilloni, Mr. Schatzel, Mr. Salvatorelli, and Mr. Boyce piled on enough writing assignments to make writing this paper a battle drill by the time I got to it. Finally, none of us in the MMAS program could finish without the help of Mrs. Elizabeth Brown. She ensured that we survived oral comps, scheduled thesis defense, and sent our papers to print. Thank you all very much.

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ACRONYMS

AGR – Active Guard and Reserve

ARFORGEN – Army Force Generation

C2 - command and control

CG – Coast Guard

CGSC – Command and General Staff College, located at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, the college is an intermediate level educational requirement of those in the rank of Major in the U. S. Army.

CBRNE – chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear, and explosive

CNN – Cable Network News

COORD – coordinated

COP - common operational picture

CSB – civil support battalion

CSIS - Center for Strategic and International Studies

DCO – Defense Coordinating Office

DHS – Department of Homeland Security

DoD – Department of Defense

DOTMLPF – doctrine, organization, training, material, leadership, personnel, facilities

DSCA – Defense Support to Civil Authorities

EMAC – Emergency Management Assistance Compact

EOC – Emergency Operations Center

FCO – Federal Coordinating Officer

FEMA – Federal Emergency Management Agency

FORSCOM – U.S. Forces Command

HLS – homeland security

HSOC – homeland security operations center

ICS – incident command center

IGO – international government organization

JCS – Joint Chiefs of Staff

JFCOM – Joint Forces Command

JFHQ – joint force headquarters

JFO – Joint Field Office

JIOC – Joint Interagency Operations Center

JTF – joint task force

KSARNG – Kansas Army National Guard (any state National Guard listed will be in this format with the 2-letter designator for the state, followed by the acronym for Army National Guard)

LNO – liaison officer

LOEP – Louisiana Office of Emergency Preparedness

LSU – Louisiana State University

LTC – Lieutenant Colonel

LTG – Lieutenant General

MACOM – Major Command – major commands in the

MAJ - Major

MG – Major General

MP – Military Police

MPAD – Mobile Public Affairs Detachment

MSNBC – combination of MSN and NBC; integrated Internet and television station to create a new media outlet

NCO – noncommissioned officer; Army enlisted ranks of Sergeant, Staff Sergeant, Sergeant First Class, Master Sergeant, First Sergeant, Sergeant Major, and Command Sergeant Major

NGB – National Guard Bureau

NGO – nongovernmental organizations

NHC – National Hurricane Center

NIMS – National Incident Management Systems

NORTHCOM – U.S. Northern Command

NRP – National Response Plan

OES – Office of Emergency Services

OPCON – operational control

OPORD – operations order

PBS – Public Broadcasting System

PFO – Principal Federal Officer

REOC – Regional Emergency Operations Center

SAD – state active duty

SCO – State Coordinating Officer

SEMS – State Emergency Management System

SEMA - State Emergency Management Agency, State of Missouri

SJFHQ-CE - Standing Joint Force Headquarter – Command Element

SOC – State Operations Center

TACON – tactical control

TAG – The Adjutant General: the two-star level appointed officer in each state.
Although the governor is the Commander in Chief of the State National Guard, the TAG is the military advisor to the governor.

TF – task force

U.S. – United States

USACE – U.S. Army Corps of Engineers

USAR – U.S. Army Reserves

USC – *United State Code*

USNORTHCOM – United States Northern Command

GLOSSARY

Active duty: those military forces, units and personnel, organized under the Department of Defense in the full time service of the United States. These forces do not include full time National Guard or Reserve forces (Babe 2007, 7).

Crisis: an event or sustained situation that causes an organization to devote inordinate resources to resolving the situation. The organization's normal operations are severely disrupted (Communicator's Guide 2000, 66).

Category 4 Hurricane: indicates wind speeds between 131 and 155 miles per hour; barometric pressure between 27.17 and 27.88; possible storm surge of thirteen to eighteen feet; excessive infrastructure damage; low-lying routes cuts off by water and debris; major flood damage. Evacuate residential areas within six miles of coast and at an elevation of ten feet or less (Zebrowski and Howard 2005, 250).

Category 5 Hurricane: indicates wind speeds in excess of 155 miles per hour; barometric pressure less than 27.17; possible storm surge exceeding eighteen feet; extensive infrastructure damage; routes cuts off by water and debris; low-lying bridges swept away; major flood damage; large size watercraft become grounded. Evacuate entire population areas within a twenty mile radius (Zebrowski and Howard 2005, 250).

EF 5 Tornado: EF from the new Enhanced Fujita scale that has six levels of tornadoes with 0 being the first level. All levels are based upon miles per hour. An EF 5 tornado indicates that winds were in excess of 200 mph. The Greensburg Tornado was the first to be measured on this scale (<http://www.wibw.com/weather/headlines/7361431.html>).

Disaster: Unexpected, destructive events result in death, injury, and property damage that overwhelms the resources of the community and disrupts the societal processes. Common, everyday pursuits are replaced instantly by a desperate struggle for escape and survival (Silverstein 1992, 3).

Doctrine is the written body of instructions or processes of the organizations or agencies that require a prescribed manner of conducting business. It supplies the intellectual tools that allow leaders to lean on their own experiences and then develop their own solutions to any problem (FM-1, 1-21). It includes publications, operating procedures, checklists, regulations, and policy (F102 slide packet).

Economy Act: permits federal agencies to provide goods or services to another federal agency when support is requested; does not have to be connected to disaster response (Senate Report 109-322, 470).

Facilities indicate the buildings, land, or other area that could be used toward the accomplishment of the mission, even in its most indirect forms such as housing the personnel. It includes the infrastructure and activities needed in order to maintain the activities (F102 slide packet).

Flood: an enormous amount of water that leaves its usual path and fills a large area around that path. For instance, water leaves the river bed and rushes into the streets of nearby towns. Unlike a hurricane, earthquake, tornado or blizzard, flood damage is not localized or quickly assessed. A flood has been described as a “disaster in slow-motion” (Wisconsin State Journal, accessed November 1, 2008).

Homeland security consists of all military activities aimed at preparing for, protecting against, or managing the consequences of attacks on American soil. It also includes actions designed to safeguard the population, property, and infrastructure (Larson and Peters 2001, xvii). Nevertheless, homeland security is more than being prepared in case of a terrorist attack. It also requires being prepared for natural and man-made disasters (Sando 2007, 1).

Insurrection Act: authorizes the President to use military force to suppress and insurrection or other domestic violence, to include large-scale looting (Senate Report 109-322, 470).

Leadership: the process of influencing people by providing purpose, direction, and motivation while operating to accomplish the mission and improving the organization (FM 6-22, 1-2).

Materiel: the items necessary to carry out the mission. Examples include software for computers, communications equipment, medical equipment, weapons, or other tangible items necessary to support the mission (F102 slide packet).

Mitigation: adopting measures to reduce exposure and potential loss. These measures may include building and zoning guidelines and restrictions or educating businesses and the public on measures that they can take (Sauter and Carafano 2005, 315-316)

Mobile Public Affairs Detachment (MPAD): The MPAD is staffed, trained and equipped to rapidly deploy in support of brigade, division or corps size task force operations, with personnel and equipment to conduct public affairs operations in support of Army media operations in many types of environments (FM 46-1, 47).

National Guard: those forces, units and personnel, organized into Army or Air Force structures, composed of citizens who are trained to respond to national or local emergencies. Each state, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Virgin Islands has a National Guard that is in the command and control of the respective governor, except when ordered to federal service by the President of the United States (Babe 2007, 7). Some members are in full-time service, are referred to as active guard or reserve (AGR). The majority of the members, however, are citizens with another career.

Organization: An *organization* is a functional, social, or process-related arrangement of people that work toward a common goal. The Army and Air Force (both of which have National Guards) are organizations with a common goal of national security.

Personnel: the individuals who make up the organization. In the DOTMLPF format, the term personnel includes what other organizations refer to as human resource and encompasses the support of these individuals in matters of administration, finance, and career management.

State Active Duty: forces in the National Guard are called by the governor to respond to incidents within the state either to maintain public order or to assist with a disaster or crisis. The forces remain in the control of the governor and the state adjutant general. Funding for this duty is at the state level at a pay rate determined by the state (Babe 2007, 8).

Stafford Act: primary statute governing the Department of Defense and other federal agencies regarding disaster assistance. Reimbursements are authorized once the governor has determined that the states resources are overwhelmed and has requested federal assistance and a Presidential declaration of emergency (Senate Report 109-322, 70).

Title 10: the portion of the *United States Code* that establishes all of the Armed forces of the United States of America. Title 10 forces are under the command and control of the President (Babe 2007, 8).

Title 32: the portion of the *United States Code* that establishes the organization, personnel, and training of the National Guard. Guardsmen who respond under state response authority are in Title 32 status and remain under the control of the governor and state adjutant general. Title 32 funds do come from the federal government (Babe 2007, 8).

Training: content of material to be learned and all methods of delivery of that content (F102 slide packet); the gaining of knowledge and skills through either an educational instruction process or by means of hands-on learning.

Public Affairs is that public information, command information, and community relation activities directed toward both the external and internal publics with interest in the Department of Defense (Seiber 2007, 6).

FM 3-13 defines *Information Operations* as “the employment of the core capabilities of electronic warfare, computer network operations, psychological operations, military deception, and operations security, in concert with specified supporting and related capabilities, to affect or defend information and information systems, and to influence decision-making” (FM 3-13, paragraph 1-53).

Strategic communications is a planned set of marketing messages or public service announcements that promote a favorable image of the organization. The Army strategic communications guide promotes the vision and messages for the Army (AKOComm 2008). Military strategic communications is a communications process that seeks to gain popular support for United States Government policies and military actions (Baldwin 2007, 9).

Response is defined as activities or measures taken to address the immediate and short-term effects of an emergency or disaster. Response includes immediate actions to save lives, protect property and meet basic human needs (Webster 1999, 17). The actions include warning residents and visitors in the affected area, notifying emergency management personnel of the impending disaster, providing aid and immediate needs to victims, providing security of property, providing traffic control, conducting damage assessments, and evacuating and sheltering people (Sauter and Carafano 2005, 316).

Preparedness includes activities undertaken *before* an event to ensure an effective response. Crucial to preparedness is the planning prior to the disaster which ensures that all aspects of emergency response and the responders themselves are tied together in order to better organize later recovery efforts (Sauter and Carafano 2005, 316).

Recovery is the effort to restore damaged infrastructure, local government, and financial centers of the communities within the disaster area. Recovery can be a long process, especially when restoring economic and government institutions. In response to natural disasters in the United States, it will likely include restoring essential services and humanitarian assistance (Sauter and Carafano 2005, 316).

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“There cannot be a crisis this week. My schedule is already full.”

Henry Kissenger Communicator’s Guide

Background

In August of 2005, Hurricane Katrina ravaged Louisiana and the Gulf Coast of Mississippi. The media coverage of the disaster created a scrutiny of the government’s ability to provide for the welfare of its citizens. Included in the analysis was the view that the Department of Defense (DoD) efforts were perceived to be slow, uncoordinated, and often non-existent prior to the deployment of the 82nd Airborne Division to New Orleans, even though National Guardsmen from several states responded to assist with the relief efforts immediately following the storm. Many of these units were able to respond within hours of the storm because they were prepositioned at Camp Shelby, Mississippi for just that purpose. The level of response by all of the Department of Defense was tremendous; however, this paper will focus on the response of the National Guard. The primary reason that the level of response by all of the DoD, and thus the National Guard, is misunderstood is because their response stories are not told in the same manner that the stories of tragedy and devastation are told. The media will report on death and failure before it will report on life and success (Burns 2006, 25).

Instead of using DoD assets to assess the situation of Hurricane Katrina, the DoD relied heavily upon the media to provide information and situational updates to them (United States Senate 2006, 482). While using the media as a means of gathering

information does work, a better technique is to have a proactive response and allow the media to tell the story of that response to the American public.

The press will be ever present, seeking numerous details (Burns 2006, 25). Yet the details they seek are often not included into the stories that they tell. The quick response of the National Guard was seldom a topic in media coverage of the hurricane. The media paid a great deal of attention to the uproar for more assistance to be provided to the victims of the storm; however, the stories which included those who did respond went under reported. It is a disservice to the nation when the story of those who responded is neglected, thus providing an incomplete picture to all. The various lessons learned from Hurricane Katrina span the gamut from lack of planning to deficiencies in response capabilities and organization; however, be that as it may, the National Guard response was unprecedented in its size and quickness (Davis et al. 2007, 8). Proper coverage of the entire response story, and specifically the National Guard response story, may have offered more hope to those in the affected areas, and certainly would have provided a stronger basis of confidence and assurance for those in other parts of the nation that should they ever need help in the future, it will be there for them as well.

There are mutual benefits to working in a partnership with national, state, and local media outlets in order to ensure prior to a natural disaster that the story of the National Guard response to all disasters will be told in an impartial and just manner. There is more to responding to a natural disaster than simply moving supplies, medicines, building materials, and other necessary items from one point to another. There must be planning prior to the disaster; planning that carries through the immediate needs and into the rebuilding stages afterward. Successful disaster responses come from organizations

and people who have been involved in the process from the beginning and remain with it until the very end. Unfortunately, many organizations do not have the long-term commitment needed to see the process to the end. Neither do they have the forethought to be involved in the developmental stages of planning. The media is one such organization (Rotberg and Weiss 1996, 119). Usually, domestic reporting requires the journalists to have a basic knowledge of the subject matter which they are covering. In the case of disaster reporting, however, this is not a requirement. Media show up and conduct crisis reporting, often looking for the worst aspects of the storm in order to appeal to the largest audience with their stories (Rotberg and Weiss 1996, 125).

Because the stories must appeal to larger audiences, this paper will focus on television and radio journalists. Although print media is still a viable medium to tell any story, disasters included, it does not have the speed of the television or radio in getting the story to the audience. Army doctrine recognizes the importance of television and radio journalists. “Television and radio are the two most important media systems for the dissemination of domestic disaster information” (FM 3-28, G-2). Reporters play an important role in first response to any disaster. They provide information about the disaster from the time of early warning, if applicable, until the recovery stage is in full operations. It is extremely important to have a plan that can be executed and rehearsed. At this point, a media-responder relationship could be critical to the safety of all personnel in an affected area. “The goal of disaster preparedness and response is to save lives and relieve suffering” (Horwitz 2008, 17).

Following Hurricane Katrina, two distinct natural disasters occurred near Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. A case study review of Hurricane Katrina, which will include the

negative portrayal in the media of the overall response and the positive portrayal of the Coast Guard; the Greensburg, Kansas tornado, and then the Coffeyville, Kansas flood will allow for the comparison and contrast of the lessons learned and applied for subsequent natural disasters within the United States. The location of these natural disasters is important due to their proximity to the Center for Army Lessons Learned, an institution that is dedicated to conducting after actions reviews of all military operations and compiling the data in order to allow the military to continue to use the practices that work and to change those that do not work. Has the National Guard learned their lesson in regards to the strategic use of media during a natural disaster? Were lessons learned at the strategic level, but not the operational and tactical levels or vice versa?

The selection of Hurricane Katrina as a case study stems from the outcry in the media of the perceived lack of response. This case study will also include the actions of the Coast Guard and how they seem to have determined the solutions to the media relationship that allows them to maintain a positive representation in the portrayal of their operations. The EF5 tornado in Greensburg, Kansas that caused significant damage was the next major disaster to receive national attention. In fact, the tornado received so much national attention in the media that President George W. Bush returned to the site a year later in order to offer the commencement address of the Greensburg High School Class of 2008 graduation ceremony (Whitehouse.gov). The Coffeyville floods were the next major disaster, just a few months after the tornado. Conversely to the tornado, the floods received very little national attention. These case studies, presented in order of magnitude and occurrence, show how the media and [possibly] the government progressed from not correctly reporting the response story to going overboard with their

reporting the response story to returning full circle and almost completely ignoring the response story again.

Primary Research Question

Should the National Guard include national and local media in all planning of response to natural disasters in order to more effectively address issues and present its response story? Even more than two years after Hurricane Katrina, the perception of a number of people is that the response to the disaster was slow and unorganized. This fails to communicate to Americans that their National Guard did respond and in a miraculous way. The support controversy shown by the media following Hurricane Katrina is not indicative of the actual military support operations provided by the National Guard. This disparity of reporting, versus the actual response, reveals a need for the National Guard to have a strategic media plan that ensures that its story is properly told to the public. This paper proposes that the National Guard should have a more deliberate plan to involve the media, especially television and radio, in the disaster response planning conducted by National Guard units prior to any disaster occurrence.

Secondary Research Questions

What is the response story the National Guard wants the public to know? Should the media be used strategically as a means of informing the people prior to a natural disaster? Would civil media be a viable means of communicating National Guard efforts after a disaster? Can the use of media in pre-disaster preparation improve the response capabilities of first responders during a national disaster? Is it possible that the scope of a disaster may preclude successful media coverage?

Significance

This research paper will focus on the response of the National Guard and how that response could have been better represented in the media. The overall effect of the media telling the nation about the more than 50,000 Guardsmen from every state and territory in the United States could have changed the way the public perceived the government's role in the response to a natural disaster within the United States of America (the statistic quoted by LTG H. Stephen Blum, Chief, National Guard Bureau, in his statement made before the Senate Armed Service Committee Subcommittee on Emerging Threats, on Homeland Defense and Military support to Civil Authorities, 10 March 2006).

Intentional use of the media can assist in pre-disaster preparation and education. The media is crucial in the pre-disaster warning process and vital in the information flow of the recovery process. Media can help to alert response and stimulate effective disaster relief. Media assures the people that response is available and dedicated to them.

Assumptions

The first assumption made in this study is that the National Guard has national, state, and local strategic media plans, however does not fully utilize those plans. The second assumption is that all levels of the media, such as national or local television, would be willing to participate in a contingency plan with the National Guard as the lead agency, including rehearsing those plans during training exercises.

Limitations

Response to natural disasters is a broad topic and needs to be limited to a scope that is manageable within this study. While joint and interagency operations would be a

valid study, this study will focus primarily on the National Guard response and how it could have utilized a valuable asset such as the public media in order to better tell the response story to the American people. A limitation of this study is that the literature on the Greensburg and Coffeyville case studies is pulled from public media articles (i.e. newspaper, magazine, television news transcripts) instead of scholarly articles. Scholarly articles would lend more creditability to the literature review; however, the coverage of the case studies was limited to primarily local news. In order to mitigate this limitation, part of the case study presentation is provided from information gathered during a visit to both communities. Enough has been written and archived for Hurricane Katrina that this limitation should not pertain it.

Another limitation is ensuring that the case studies address only the response story and how the media presented it. With the amount of literature available on Hurricane Katrina, keeping the focus of the thesis is difficult. Telling every media story is too broad a subject to attempt in this study. Additionally, other issues arise out of natural disasters that are covered in the media, such as the oil spill in Coffeyville and the economic and racial tensions during Hurricane Katrina. While addressing those issues as part of the case study, it is important not to switch a focus to those issues, instead of remaining focused on the response story. Maintaining a focus on the response story will be extremely difficult because the media and history will record the event as a whole and picking out just the response is a daunting task.

Finally, during the writing of this paper, the hurricane season of 2008 produced Hurricanes Gustav, Ike, and Hannah. While it would be very easy to transfer to a comparison of Hurricane Katrina to Hurricane Gustav, recognizing the many

commonalities of the storms, that comparison must remain a topic for future study and is recommended as such in Chapter Five. The information gathering for the literature review and case studies ended September 27, 2008; however, the information gathered was restricted to the three case studies – Hurricane Katrina, the Greensburg Tornado, and the Coffeyville Flood (which includes a number of simultaneous flooding in Southeast Kansas during the same timeframe) - and no information regarding new disasters is introduced as part of the case studies, which means that Hurricanes Gustav, Ike, and Hannah as well as other floods and tornados that occurred during the drafting of this paper are not used in this paper.

Acronyms

A complete list of acronyms is in the front of the paper. Below is a list of common acronyms used in disaster relief operations.

AGR: Active Guard and Reserve

CNN: Cable Network News

DHS: Department of Homeland Security

DoD: Department of Defense

DOTMLPF-P: Doctrine, organization, training, materiel, leadership, personnel, facilities,
policy

DSCA: Defense Support to Civil Authorities

EMAC: Emergency Management Assistance Compact

EOC: Emergency Operations Center

FEMA: Federal Emergency Management Agency

HLS: Homeland Security

JFHQ: Joint forces headquarters. The two letter acronym for the state will follow when speaking of a state National Guard headquarters. For example the joint forces headquarters of the Louisiana National Guard would be written as: JFHQ-LA

JTF: Joint task force

KDOT: Kansas Department of Transportation

LTC: Lieutenant Colonel

LTG: Lieutenant General

MAJ: Major

MP: Military Police

NGB: National Guard Bureau

HNC: National Hurricane Center

NIMS: National Incident Management Systems

NORTHCOM: U.S. Northern Command

NRP: National Response Plan

OPCON: Operational control

SEMA: State Emergency Management Agency

TAG: The Adjutant General, or senior officer in charge of the National Guard within the state

U.S.: United States

USAR: U.S. Army Reserves

Definitions

When confronted with almost any situation, the United States military turns to doctrine to identify solutions and best practices. The challenge of these case study comparisons is to review doctrine and consider the lessons learned, measure the success of the application of those lessons learned as they relate to the public affairs/information

operations of response to natural disasters, and then to recommend changes to current policy in a doctrine, organization, training, materiel, leadership, personnel, and facilities (DOTMLPF) format. DOTMLPF serves as a framework for military planners when establishing new capabilities. Often, DOTMLPF is referred to when policy changes are being considered (Joint Publication 1-02, 285). When policy changes are considered, the acronym includes “-P” as in: DOTMLPF-P (F100: Managing Army Change 2007, F102AA-3 and -4). Each element of this acronym is defined below as they will be used throughout this paper. The definitions are:

- *Doctrine* is the written body of instructions or processes of the organizations or agencies that require a prescribed manner of conducting business. It supplies the intellectual tools that allow leaders to lean on their own experiences and then develop their own solutions to any problem (FM-1, 1-21).
- An *organization* is a functional, social, or process-related arrangement of people that work toward a common goal. The Army and Air Force (both of which have National Guards) are organizations with a common goal of national security.
- *Training* means to acquire knowledge or skills and then be able to use those new attributes toward the completion of future tasks. It differs from education in that it is directed toward a specified task or type of tasks.
- *Materiel* is the equipment required to complete a mission. It can also be the items that support other equipment or components in order to accomplish a mission.
- *Leadership* is the ability to use one’s own knowledge to influence the behavior of others.
- *Education* as a component of leadership is the prerequisite to influence and to knowledge. Because no natural disaster is identical to any other, each will have unique elements that will require knowledge and novelty in the response to that particular disaster (CRS Report for Congress 2005, 14). Education is the development of knowledge in order to apply a standard of thought toward all tasks or ideas.
- *Personnel* refer to the people required in order to complete all missions.
- *Facilities* indicate the buildings, land, or other area that could be used toward the

accomplishment of the mission, even in its most indirect forms such as housing the personnel.

Other concepts which need to be defined for the purpose of this paper are homeland security, disaster, crisis, public affairs, information operations, strategic communications, response, preparedness, and recovery. More completely defined terms and concepts are in the glossary.

- *Homeland security* consists of all military activities aimed at preparing for, protecting against, or managing the consequences of attacks on American soil. It also includes actions designed to safeguard the population, property, and infrastructure (Larson and Peters 2001, xvii). Nevertheless, homeland security is more than being prepared in case of a terrorist attack. It also requires being prepared for natural and man-made disasters (Sando 2007, 1).
- *Disasters* are catastrophic events that cause total disruption in the normal patterns of life for a large segment of a population. A natural disaster is an occurrence of some type that was not primarily the result of human action. Man-made disasters are those that occur either because of human error or negligence, or are the direct result of human cause. Examples of natural disasters include earthquakes, floods, tornadoes, droughts, and hurricanes. Fires, if started by natural causes (i.e. lightning) are natural disasters; however, their causes are usually the result of human negligence and therefore they become man-made disasters. Other examples of man-made disasters are floods that occur due to the failure of a levee, or an explosion which occurred because of a human-planted bomb. Many disasters, even natural ones, can be foreseen and mitigated with preparation. Terrorist caused disasters, such as the example of a bomb often catch everyone unaware, but can be prepared for through disaster planning (Benthall 1993, 11).
- A *crisis* is an unstable situation that can be difficult or dangerous (www.google.com, “define: crisis”, accessed July 15, 2008). Additionally, a crisis is an event that causes an organization to devote inordinate amounts of resources to resolving that situation. All other normal operations of the organization are severely disrupted because of the crisis (Communicator’s Guide 2000, 66). Crisis situations need to be managed and can be planned for in order to mitigate the consequences. Dangerous crisis include situations in which life is threatened. The most common use of crisis in this paper will involve crisis management or crisis communications, specifically planning how to manage a crisis in the public media.

- *Public Affairs* is that public information, command information, and community relation activities directed toward both the external and internal publics with interest in the Department of Defense (Seiber 2007, 6).
- FM 3-13 defines *Information Operations* as “the employment of the core capabilities of electronic warfare, computer network operations, psychological operations, military deception, and operations security, in concert with specified supporting and related capabilities, to affect or defend information and information systems, and to influence decision-making” (FM 3-13, paragraph 1-53).
- *Strategic communications* is a planned set of marketing messages or public service announcements that promote a favorable image of the organization. The Army strategic communications guide promotes the vision and messages for the Army (AKOComm, 2008). Military strategic communications is a communications process that seeks to gain popular support for United States Government policies and military actions (Baldwin 2007, 9).
- *Response* is defined as activities or measures taken to address the immediate and short-term effects of an emergency or disaster. Response includes immediate actions to save lives, protect property and meet basic human needs (Webster 1999, 17). The actions include warning residents and visitors in the affected area, notifying emergency management personnel of the impending disaster, providing aid and immediate needs to victims, providing security of property, providing traffic control, conducting damage assessments, and evacuating and sheltering people (Sauter and Carafano 2005, 316).
- *Preparedness* includes activities undertaken *before* an event to ensure an effective response. Crucial to preparedness is the planning prior to the disaster which ensures that all aspects of emergency response and the responders themselves are tied together in order to better organize later recovery efforts (Sauter and Carafano 2005, 316).
- *Recovery* is the effort to restore damaged infrastructure, local government, and financial centers of the communities within the disaster area. Recovery can be a long process, especially when restoring economic and government institutions. In response to natural disasters in the United States, it will likely include restoring essential services and humanitarian assistance (Sauter and Carafano 2005, 316).

Structure of the Paper

This chapter presents the purpose and formats the logic of the paper. It introduces the thesis and explains why the research is relevant. In addition, this chapter defines

some terminology and processes that will be referred to often throughout other chapters; however a complete glossary is located at the beginning of the paper. There is a list of acronyms as well.

Chapter 2 highlights the current literature which is available, framing that literature into themes for credibility and clarity. The themes addressed are history of media-military relations, history of military response to natural disasters, National Guard response to natural disasters, media coverage of natural disasters, Public Affairs doctrine as it is applied to the National Guard. Finally in this chapter is a discussion of current relationship between the media and the National Guard.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology of the research – how the research was conducted and the means by which research and writing decisions were made. Chapter 4 presents the case studies and provides analysis of the information discussed in them. And, finally, Chapter 5 offers a summary, conclusions reached, recommendations as to the use of the findings or conclusions, and ideas for further research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

“Journalism is the first draft of history. As the law does not belong to lawyers, or medicine to doctors, war does not belong to the Soldiers, but to all of us” (Copeland Volume 6 2005, 8-9). One could argue that not only war, but any event that requires military actions belongs to the citizens because the first responders are the citizens as well.

This chapter discusses current literature available about various themes that will guide the presentation of the case studies. These themes include a history of military and media relationships; a history of media coverage of natural disasters; and a history of National Guard response to natural disasters. Finally in this chapter is a discussion of current trends of media relationships at the three levels of the National Guard: the National Guard Bureau (NGB), Joint Forces Headquarters (JFHQ), and at the unit level in local communities, cities or town.

Comprehension of the themes will allow for better recommended changes to current doctrine, procedures, and policies regarding the use of media in conjunction with the National Guard and informing the public about the response of the National Guard during domestic disaster relief. In particular, this chapter reviews the policies or practices already in use and considers the manner in which the media currently reports the response to natural disasters.

The safety of all American citizens is at risk when a natural disaster does occur unless we are prepared to respond (Brown 2006, 12). During natural disasters or other emergencies in the United States first responders are policemen, firefighters, and local

government agencies. If the magnitude of the disaster overwhelms local responders, the governor can activate the National Guard in order to relieve some of the stress on them (Meeds 2006, 1). Guardsmen respond to floods, wild fires, earthquakes, blizzards, and are called to assist with crowd control during civil unrest such as riots (Brown 2006, 8). The National Guard has trained and available personnel, in addition to other useful assets such as their armories to use for command centers or shelters, vehicles to help transport personnel or relief items, engineering assets to help reestablish essential services, medical services, and the capabilities to assist with security (Davis et al. 2007, 14; Sando 2007, 22).

Lieutenant Colonel Meeds references in her literature an increase in the number of natural disasters in the United States within the last fifty years (2006, 1). In many of these incidents, the media has been the primary means of warning the public prior to the onset of the disaster (Sando 2007, 3). Many natural disasters can be predicted and thus avoided. Those that cannot be avoided can be minimized if the entire situation is handled properly (<http://www.lsu.edu/pa/crisis.html>, accessed May 13, 2008). The first few days following any natural disaster or other emergency are critical to the safety and well being of the citizens affected by the event (Meeds 2006, 7). Activating the National Guard saves valuable time in those critical days. Its dual status of being both a national and local asset allows it to provide a collaborative environment that can process critical information quickly (Kim 2007, 16). The National Guard can provide, if positioned properly, enhanced information for decision makers because it is made up of citizens of the communities that it will protect and serve (Sando 2007, 5).

Not only do Guardsmen protect their communities, they have become well-established as an important asset to United States (U.S.) national security following the attacks of September 11, 2001. In addition to being deployed in support of the Global War on Terror, approximately 50,000 Guardsmen were activated to support relief efforts in areas devastated by Hurricanes Katrina and Rita (Kim 2007, 1). Before Hurricane Katrina made landfall, the states and the federal government made response preparations and prepositioned Guard personnel and assets in order for them to launch into relief operations immediately after the storm (Davis et al. 2007, 15). Each affected state in the region maintains response plans for natural disasters. Each state responded according to its plan. National Guard personnel in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama were called to duty and ready to respond prior to the hurricane hitting land (Meeds 2006, 4). This is only one example of the domestic utilization of the National Guard. There are many other natural disaster response examples as well as some support to civil authority missions. However, this study uses Hurricane Katrina as one of the case studies, therefore will avoid the confusion of introducing other examples.

Because of its capabilities to respond to everything from a natural disaster to homeland security to a catastrophic terrorist attack, media stories about the Guard should focus on its important role in providing response to national events (Sando 2007, 11). The National Guard should take a proactive role in ensuring that their story is told. They should take more deliberate action, both at the national and state levels, to involve the media in their disaster response planning with the primary goal being that doing so will ensure they get a full and accurate account of their efforts shown to the American public.

With proper planning, public media outlets can be used to disseminate disaster preparedness and response information, stimulate volunteerism, and counteract rumors and inaccurate information (Sauter and Carafano 2005, 357). Because the National Guard will likely be the first responders during an overwhelming disaster, planning the media into their operations will allow both to better serve those affected by the disaster and provide more accurate information to the public. It is important to plan in advance how to use media coverage and to anticipate the roles that the coverage will play in the relief operations (Wolfe 2005, 92).

National Guard units with an executable disaster response plan consistently mobilize more quickly and efficiently than those who have a shelved plan that has not been recently rehearsed (Initial Impressions Report No. 06-11, 15). An executable plan is one which guarantees that the unit arrives at the disaster site with the people, equipment, and expertise needed in order to immediately begin relief operations. An executable plan establishes trust with the victims, reassuring them that they are in responsible hands.

The integration of media representatives into National Guard homeland response planning improves the preparedness of the first responders and reporters alike. Media warnings have helped to save lives. Research suggests that people are more likely to act when they are forewarned as seen in the decrease in number of deaths due to tornadoes in the last two decades because the public was warned of them by the media (Sauter and Carafano 2005, 353-449).

History of Media-Military Relations

“Successful relationships between the military and the media are primarily based upon credibility and trust; such relationships are normally built over time, not during a crisis.”

Joint Publication 3-61 May 1997

Since the advent of the volunteer force, adopted in 1973, many people in America have not served in the military and therefore do not understand the way that it operates. Because all of the services operate differently from one another, (even each state National Guard operates differently), it is difficult for the public to identify with the services (CALL Newsletter No. 07-04, 4). Each state has a National Guard; however, in some states the Guard is consolidated into the urban areas and individuals in the rural areas of the states do not have the opportunity to interact with their own military. States which do have military installations may have a higher percentage of interaction; however, the interaction is defined by other events, such as economics, land use agreements, or housing issues. The media is a means of allowing the public and the military to reacquaint themselves with each other at the military operational level. It is important to the public that the military and the media establish positive working relationships with each other prior to a disaster (Austin 2007, 9).

Recently, embedded reporters during Operation Iraqi Freedom have improved the outward appearance of an allied relationship between the media and the military. Hearing comments directly from military members is the best way to help the public reconnect with the military and the way in which it operates (English 2005, 48). However, the relationship between the media and the military has not always appeared so harmonious (Kracke 2004, 24).

“For decades, military leaders have made attempts at meeting the media’s – and thus, the public’s – need for information” (Center of Excellence 2007, 116). “It is incumbent on military leaders to seek support for the actions taken in preparing and executing national military strategy” (CALL Newsletter No. 07-04, 4). However, that is difficult to do. Most military members are not comfortable talking to reporters, much less doing so in front of a camera. Training, along with a development of media strategies, has helped military personnel to understand journalists’ goals. “The military should always be well prepared to tell its story” (Aniola 2007, 35-39), while remembering to protect its people and the operation (Center of Excellence 2007, 116).

Revolutionary War

As early as the Revolutionary War, Americans have had an interest in their military (Burns 2006, 5). Journalist Isaiah Thomas wrote his eyewitness accounts of the war in his newspaper, *the Massachusetts Spy*, that he moved under cover of night in order to keep it safe and able to go to print (Lande 1995, 8; Cooke 2007, 6-7). Thomas wrote of the battles and headlined them with requests for recruits. Often at risk, he frequently wrote of the cause of his country (Cooke 2007, 6-11). Thomas Paine wrote, “These are the times that try men’s souls.” The American Revolution became a war for the hearts and minds of the citizens (Lande 1995, 12-13). Many of the published articles of the Revolutionary War were excerpts of letters written from one commander to another or from one patriot to another. Media coverage often amounted to pamphlets of essays and editorials by men who advocated liberty. They were published with an idea of advancing the cause for liberty. Being a journalist in this war meant being a patriot. Journalists

contributed to the war effort in terms of information and propaganda (Lande 1995, 5-25; Cooke 2007, 16-22).

Civil War

The American Civil War saw a change in military styles of warfare. Napoleonic styles transitioned into technological styles. Weapons were more accurate. Strategy changed and those who were not ingrained in the old style were more adaptable to the change (Lande 1995, 95). The technology spread to journalism as well with the advent of the telegraph. With the telegraph came the “scoop” (Hudson and Stanier 1998, 23). Telegraph offices, railroad stations, and men on horseback helped to get the stories out quickly (Hammond 1988, 4). Journalists fought to get their stories published quickly, sometimes at the expense of accuracy. It became common practice to telegraph rumors to the newspaper offices or to bribe military officials in order to get a story to telegraph before their competitors were able to publish their stories (Hudson and Stanier 1998, 23). As in the Revolutionary War, reporters took sides, and often were in danger because of their positions (Hudson and Stanier 1998, 24). General McClellan tried to have reporters observe battles; however, was unable to get the arrangement because of arguments among the various newspapers and how the information would be printed. President Lincoln then gave the military control of the telegraph lines and assigned the War Department with the task of censorship, which ultimately was a failure as both sides were equally able to acquire information from the other side through the journalists (Hammond 1988, 4).

World War I

In World War I, the British and French initially excluded reporters from the front lines. But, when the Germans began allowing reporters from neutral countries to visit their armies under escort, the British and French realized the power of those stories to sway the civilian populace. They began to allow escorted reporters onto the battlefield; however, they censored everything written. When the Americans entered the war a couple of years later, they adopted the escorted reporter and censorship program as their media strategy. American commanders gradually allowed their reporters more freedom of movement, and some reporters moved into unit areas. This system of media-military relations ultimately crashed due to the large number of reporters who arrived. The military were not prepared to handle the large number of media that arrived (Hammond 1988, 4-5).

The great motivating factor for the large number of reporters was the stories of atrocities, even if the stories were sometimes fabricated. Although highly censored, the media became the official source of military propaganda. Perhaps the censorship even allowed or used the media as a government delivery system for its propaganda (Copeland Volume 5 2005, 15). In June 1917, a magazine titled *The Nation* published an officer's letter to his family from the front lines. It spoke of the horrors of war. It expressed his concern that the people at home did not understand the condition of the front and the Soldiers who fought there. Publishing this letter was the magazine's way of attempting to win approval and respect of the war from the American citizens (Hudson and Stanier 1998, 40).

Other coverage of this war continued to remind Americans that war is bloody and deadly; not always heroic. Seldom is it romantic as is depicted in plays, novels, and films (Lande 1998, 169). The *Laconia* was an ocean liner that was turned into an armed merchant cruiser in 1914. For almost three years, the ship was used in military operations. When it was returned to private use in February of 1917, a German u-boat torpedoed it. The ship had approximately seventy-five civilian passengers aboard (Wikipedia 2008). Publishing the account of the sinking of the *Laconia* was the best recruitment propaganda that the military had. The *Laconia's* story made everyone want to free the world of murderers who preyed upon women and children, and bring democracy to all (Lande 1995, 170).

Yet, not all reporters flocked to the war. William Randolph Hearst opposed American involvement in the war. He saw the war in Europe as a distracter of the expansion of trade and influence in the Pacific. His balanced reporting of the German viewpoint resulted in his newspapers being burned in the streets. It was his relentless reporting of the United States government, and the relentless reporting of other newspapers as well, that caused Congress to “tone down” the espionage bill and pass one which still allowed the “right of newspapers to criticize acts or policies of the government or its representatives.” The newspapers had won a small victory against the Wilson administration’s willingness to forego some First Amendment rights for (in Wilson’s view) the greater good of the nation. While this debate was primarily political, it was the ability to report on the war that served as a catalyst to initiate these types of discussions (Cooke 2007, 87-103).

The impact of the media on the war from 1914-1918 was unusual. War correspondents had little or no influence on the conduct of the war. Their reports were propaganda used to maintain public support of the war. The owners of newspapers and other media outlets; however, were able to change the conduct of war with the military-political campaigns that they launched at home. By highlighting the deficiencies of the management of the war, they were able to make political leaders and high level military leaders notice their own behavior and sometimes change it (Hudson and Stanier 1998, 55-59).

On the other hand, the politicians fought back with statements such as this one from American Ambassador James W. Gerard: *“Carl W. Ackerman and Seymour B. Conger at all times and in spite of their surroundings and in the face of real difficulties preserved their Americanism unimpaired and refused to succumb to the alluring temptations held out to them. Many of the others were pro-German”* (Matthews 1957, 164-165). The relationship of the media and military in World War I seems to have been a contest between the politicians and the press, with the media in the middle as a source of propaganda. What would the relationship with the media have been like if the United States had entered the war in the beginning? One can only speculate, but it seems that entering the war later had allowed the necessary time to grow public support for the war. Also, the entering later allowed the press time to determine their opposition of the politicians who used censorship to maintain that support (Matthews 1957, 170).

World War II

The idea of censorship as a means of controlling the media continued during World War II. When they passed the War Powers Act in December 1941, Congress

created the Office of Censorship. Guidelines for domestic news organizations, *Code of Wartime Practices* took effect in January 1942 (Copeland Volume 7 2005, 99). The media accepted the infringement upon its free speech rights because it saw the greater good of information security in times of war (Burns 2006, 5).

Another media practice to appear during World War II was the “embedded” reporter. These journalists wore U.S. military uniforms and traveled with the units. Correspondents applied new technologies in order to reach their audiences. Newsprint, radio, and newsreel were the primary sources of information. Most of the “embedded” journalists told their stories from the officer point of view. All involved in the embedded journalist program accepted that they would be censored as part of the privilege of being allowed such access during the war. Some journalists enlisted and were able to report on the war from the perspective of the training they received as Soldiers (Burns 2006, 6). Although he did not enlist, the Soldiers accepted journalist Ernest Pyle as one of their own. He remained a journalist and reported the war from the enlisted Soldier viewpoint. When he was killed in action, his death reminded all – Soldiers and civilians – that the war killed everyone indiscriminately (Lande 1995, 216).

Throughout World War II, the military saw that the reporters were given a good overall operational picture. In return, the reporters reciprocated with some loyalty. While the reporters felt that the military censorship took so long that stories of battles could not reach the American public in a timely manner, they censored themselves about other non-battle events. A well known example of media self-censorship is their refusal to print that General Patton had slapped a Soldier because they did not want the enemy to use it for propaganda (Hammond 1988, 6). Even though there was competition for the

“scoop” – being the first with a story the reporters were able to keep the slapping incident quiet for three months.

Many reporters kept their notes and later, after the war, wrote the stories that they felt they could not write during the war. *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* was written in this manner (Lande 1995, 221). Others were printed during the war as with *A Bell for Adano* (1944). Still other stories were the radio or newsprint stories that either made the journalist an icon such as Dorothy Thompson, Edward R. Murrow, or William L. Shirer or the story became the icon such as *The Death of Captain Waskow*, written by Ernie Pyle and published in the Washington *Daily News* (Lande 1995, 213-245).

While the news sometimes took time to get to the people, what they saw was accurate news. The stories of atrocities – some fact, some fiction - that were popular during World War I did not appear in World War II. Neither were there extended periods of time when there was no news of the war. News flowed steadily, even if slowly (Matthews 1957, 177). Reports of World War II highlighted the paradox of war. The pride of serving one’s nation meant also dealing with the casualties and the carnage. The reports became emotional stories that have survived more than five decades (Lande 1995, 216).

Korean War

Historian Elizabeth Schafer noted, “Whether to reveal or conceal events in Korea became the primary issue confronting correspondents” (Copeland Volume 6 2005, 256). Charles Bremner, a correspondent for the *New York Times*, observed that media “followed a line of subdued loyalty” while reporting from Korea (Taylor 1992, 49).

The Korean War was the last major conflict dominated by print reporting in the newspapers and magazines. Radio emerged as the leading source of information during World War II and remained so during the Korean War (Copeland Volume 7 2005, 100). The strategy of embedded reporters that began in World War II continued during the Korean War. They endured military censorship that was often unclear and inconsistent with the rules, causing friction between the media and military leaders (Burns 2006, 6). General Douglas MacArthur tried to allow the media to self-censor using a set of voluntary guidelines. That attempt failed primarily due to the competition among the reporters, just as it had failed when McClellan tried it in the Civil War. Although normally opposed to censorship, ninety percent of the correspondents agreed that a mandatory censorship system was needed because the voluntary one had failed (Matthews 1957, 198). The Department of Defense developed a joint service manual titled *Field Press Censorship*, August 1954, but it was published late in the war and of little use (Hammond 1988, 6-7).

Censorship did not solve all of the security violations. The press could report freely from Tokyo and the United States. A map published by a prominent news magazine and pictures of well-treated American prisoners of war gathered by correspondents who collaborated with French journalists, helped the North Koreans with their information campaign (Hammond 1998, 6-7).

The Korean War was the first war reported on television, even though the comment “televised war” is usually associated with Vietnam (Taylor 1992, 2). When the war began no major television network correspondents were in Korea. The network evening news programs had been on television for only two years. NBC was in Tokyo,

but everyone else relied upon stringers or shared personnel. They used newsreel or still pictures behind the news anchor. Walter Cronkite was the CBS News correspondent. Howard K. Smith would also become a household name. However, the weekly news magazines were the form of media who were the most intent on covering the war. They contained long articles that told of many more details than simply the daily battlefield events (Copeland Volume 6 2005, 257).

Prior to the conflict, reporters had not shown any interest in Korea. For this reason, the war was a shock. The media during previous wars had clearly been on the allied side. Korea was the first “conflict” of the Cold War and there was no clear enemy. The media did not appear to always be, and perhaps not always were, on the side of the Americans (Hudson and Stanier 1998, 85). South Korea, the side the Americans supported, had just as oppressive a leader as North Korea did. It made the lines between the sides difficult to identify (Hudson and Stanier 1998, 87-90).

Journalistic coverage of the war had other twists. The New York *Herald Tribune* sent one of the few female war correspondents to Korea. Marguerite Higgins was with the Marines when they landed at Red Beach to launch an invasion into Inchon in September 1950. She hinted in her dispatches that the enemy was more resilient than expected and that the war would last longer than expected. Reiman Morin, Associated Press, won two Pulitzer Prizes for his writing of the friction between communist and non-communist in small villages of Korea. Keyes Beech covered the *evacuation* of the Marines from the Chinese border in December 1950. Reporters had to tell the difficult stories of unclear battles and sometimes losses, and tell it with pride intact (Lande 1995, 269-280).

Korea was a war in which the media was able to influence the military leadership. The *New York Times* wrote about MacArthur and his impact on the war, the United Nations, and the North Atlantic Alliance. The *Washington Post* went so far as to demand his termination. The *Chicago Tribune* sought MacArthur's "impeachment" and "conviction". The *Herald Tribune* applauded President Truman's actions when he relieved MacArthur (Cooke 2007, 138-141).

Vietnam

Vietnam is generally regarded as having been the first television war; television being blamed for alienating American public sympathy and support for that conflict (Taylor 1992, 2). Reporters had little or no censorship. They used their freedom to address the length of the war, the type of enemy, and the lack of measurable progress. For these and many other reasons, the military and those in public office blamed the media for the U.S. loss in Vietnam (Burns 2006, 7-8). Through television, media news outlets had the ability to not only tell the public what was happening in a war zone, but show them as well. Stories traveled faster due to the ability to transmit television signals via satellite. People saw the conflict in Vietnam on their television in their living rooms. For this reason, President Johnson believed that Walter Cronkite significantly influenced American opinion against the conflict in Vietnam (Seiber 2007, 28-29). Vice President Spiro Agnew delivered a speech in November 1969 that accused the news anchors of using their body language to "cast doubts" during their reports (Burns 2006, 8). Recently published Field Manual 3-0 *Army Operations* states the lessons learned from a televised conflict: "Action and message can no longer be separate aspects of operations because perception is so important to success" (FM 3-0, 1-18). And, Taylor wrote in his book,

War and the Media: Propaganda and Persuasion in the Gulf War, that television had created a bias toward war by televising the brutal realities of it (Taylor 1992, 4).

Information officers in Vietnam were wedged between trying to legitimize the government of South Vietnam and supply American reporters everything they needed for their stories. They sometimes gave the press access to operational briefings. This proved to be only partially successful as they responded honestly to media requests for information. In doing so, they provided more information than initially intended; information that the press did not treat in an entirely respectful way (Hammond 1998, 12).

What the reporting lacked was a means of tying explanation to the video clips and pictures shown. If the news is showing military raids or destruction of ammunition dumps, then the assumption is that they are showing that the military is progressing. The public assumed the progress was going to provide a U.S. win. However, no explanation of strategy or operational integrity was added to these news clips in order to provide a more accurate public picture of Vietnam (Hoskins 2005, 16-17). From 1964 until 1967, the major news stories were the escalation of the United State war effort. The continuous stories of troop deployments, movements, and combat operations led the public to believe the war was going well for the United States. It was a shock to find out that it was not going well at all (Cooke 2007, 158).

In 1968, the media coverage of Vietnam influenced the political elections in America. Lyndon Johnson realized that Walter Cronkite's commentary on the news mattered. He stated, "*If I've lost Cronkite, I have lost the nation*" (Cooke 2007, 159). Prior to the election, the media covered the war ninety-one percent of the time it was on

air. After the election, it dropped to sixty-one percent because Nixon promised to end fighting (Hammond 1996, 103). In 1969, the media shifted reporting in Vietnam from combat operations toward crime and bureaucracy in Vietnam. The black market activities were increasing. There was political opposition to South Vietnamese leadership, to medical care, and to treatment of Viet Cong prisoners of war (Hammond 1996, 103).

In April 1975, Peter Arnett was one of the few journalists who stayed behind to report the evacuation of Saigon. He recorded the bitterness felt by the South Vietnamese at the perceived abandonment by Washington. That bitterness resonated throughout the American public (Lande 1995, 340-341). The *New York Times* reported that the “past errors must not now be compounded by a misreading of their meaning for the future...” (Cooke 2007, 165). Officials dealing with the press in Vietnam had little control over their reporting, which complicated the relationship between the military and civilian leaders and the media (Hammond 1998, 7). It caused an estrangement between military officials and the media that would last until the Gulf War (Burns 2006, 9).

Conflicts of the 1980's

Because of lessons learned in Vietnam, Casper Weinberger, Secretary of Defense from 1981-1987, presented six points of his *Weinberger Doctrine* pertaining to the future use of American troops (Sangvic 1999, 4-15). He avowed in his fifth point that the United States would not send military forces into foreign conflicts again unless it had the backing of the American public and Congress (Hudson and Stanier 1998, 185; Sangvic 1999, 13). The Iranian Hostage Crisis (1980) was an event where the media influenced an immediate course of action. On the advice of the military, President Carter sent Delta

Force to Iran. The Joint Chiefs of Staff approved the plan; however, the Secretary of State did not, and resigned over the decision. Ultimately, the media who had pressured a quick decision wrote extremely judgmental stories about the horrific outcome of the mission (Hudson and Stanier 1998, 185-189).

Following the hostage crisis, the military's media strategy in Grenada (1983) and Panama (1989) was "keep the media out of it" and they quite literally kept the media out of those two conflicts (Taylor 1992, 4). After the first two days of Grenada, the Reagan administration received many complaints from reporters about being excluded. Also, the interaction of the military with the media in Panama was frustrating for the media; therefore, the military decided to change the way that it related with them (Burns 2006, 10).

Based upon this decision to change military-media relation, General Vessey, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, asked General Sidle, who had retired as an Army Public Affairs Officer, to lead a panel on media-military relations. The Sidle Commission, as the panel became known, was made up of seven officers and seven journalists. It deliberated in February 1984. The commission concluded that reporters and photographers had a right to report on combat operations involving American Soldiers. It specifically recommended that media pools be used for the safety of the journalists and for operational security (Sidle 2005). The media pools were then used in Desert Shield and Desert Storm as the official policy for media relations.

Desert Shield/Desert Storm

General Colin Powell reminded military leaders in May 1990 of the importance of including the media into their operational plans. The media viewed this as a reform of

the way that they had been treated since Vietnam (Burns 2006, 11). Desert Storm became the technological war (Lande 1995, 352). Some have called it the “video game war” (Taylor 1992, 31). Americans viewed their televisions for the films of bombs dropping, for the press conferences that made generals celebrities, and for the stories resulting from the media pools. Because the reporters were not out in the middle of the action, they reported on the technology of the war, and they reported on their journalistic profession in its attempt to report the war. Reporting of Desert Storm was coined the “CNN Effect” because CNN many times was the only network able to get live, almost non-stop coverage of the action. Additionally, it generated its own controversy with its reporters working from a war zone (Smith 1991, 30-33). CNN was international, had the permission of the Iraqi government to stay, and did not follow the advice of the Bush administration in any matters, especially leaving the region. They were allowed to report from Baghdad when no other American television stations were allowed to do so (Seiber 2007, 32). CNN’s ability to provide 24-hour news coverage later became the ability of all the networks; however, this ability remained known as the “CNN Effect” and this effect still allows the public to view and scrutinize the actions of the military almost instantly (Belknap 2002, 100).

The military established press pools as their media information plan by drawing upon the conclusions of the Sidle Report in the 1980’s. Journalists were formed into teams. The American teams were censored by the Public Affairs Office of the Department of Defense, and the British were censored by the Public Relations Officers of the Ministry of Defense. Approximately two hundred slots were available for about fifteen hundred reporters. The military left it to the media to decide which reporters

would be in the pools. The media fought amongst themselves, often bitterly, for the slots (Taylor 1992, 51-53).

Even with all the difficulties of the press pools, the media were instrumental in acquiring public support for the war. It had everything needed: “freedom, dictatorship, self-determination, democracy, and Western oil interests” (Minear, Scott, and Weiss 1996, 40). Americans watched television daily to gather news of the war (Lande 1995, 352). The news programs used comparisons to Vietnam in a purely historical context, and in so doing, helped to overcome the stigma of American journalism and war (Minear, Scott, and Weiss 1996, 36-39).

Not everyone rejoiced, however. CNN’s Christiane Amanpour felt that the military had won a resounding victory in “controlling the press.” She felt that the press had allowed the war to be seen in terms of “casualty-free” and that the reporting of much of the war was “a lie” (Cooke 2007, 181).

Whatever misconceptions may have come from reporting the first Gulf War, it was still an extremely important first step in the betterment of the relationship of the media and the military. It was the most widely and swiftly reported war in history. While the reporters may have been controlled, they were not excluded. It is estimated that an average of 600 million people in the world watched the coverage of the Gulf War, including reports from unilaterals (independent reporters), the media pools, and the military briefings (Hudson and Stanier 1998, 209-224).

The press coverage at the end of the Desert Storm predicted future American involvement in Iraq: “If American forces had captured Baghdad, they could not have gone home a week later. They would have faced a long, expensive stay as they tried to

restore a new government and reconstruct a nation traumatized by years of dictatorship and war” (Cooke 2007, 183). Even without direct access to conflict, the media was able to accurately describe the situation there.

Post Desert Storm Conflicts

Although well intentioned, the American intervention in Somalia became a disaster (Hudson and Stanier 1998, 245). Somalia is also an example of the influence that the media exerts over foreign policy with American television accused of activating military action and then demanding a withdrawal of forces. Secretary of State, Laurence Eagleburger admitted: “Television had a great deal to do with President Bush’s decision to go in” (Minear, Scott, and Weiss 1996, 53-55). And the televised dragging of dead bodies influenced President Clinton to pull out troops in 1994 (Hudson and Stanier 1998, 258).

Jonathan Benthall, author and advisory board member for Save the Children, quoted a doctor in his book, *Disasters, Relief, and the Media*, that “journalists are parasites on human suffering” (Benthall 1993, 2). In addition to Somalia, the media sparked U.S. action in several areas of suffering throughout the world in the 1990s including Haiti, Liberia, Rwanda, Northern Iraq, the Former Yugoslavia, and Kosovo (Benthall 1993, 10-55; Minear, Scott, and Weiss 1996, 69).

Haiti was an issue of domestic concern for the United States. The steady stream of headlines on human rights abuses, refugee exodus, and the fight for democracy swayed U.S. intervention. Although strategic policy remains unaffected by the media, other news coverage, especially coverage of the shocking stories in Bosnia, has resulted in action from international governments and the United Nations. The Security Council

Resolution 770 of 1992 supported humanitarian aid in the region in response to the televised atrocities (Minear, Scott, and Weiss 1996, 57-61). Reporters covering Kosovo were kept away from the action and given information in media pools and briefings, just as they had been in Desert Storm. When they were allowed to cross into the Kosovo, they discovered that much of the media pool and briefing information they were given was incorrect (Seiber 2007, 37).

Afghanistan

The initial media contact of the war in Afghanistan was through controlled press briefings, much as were conducted during Desert Storm. Special operations employment and sensitivity to the neighboring countries necessitated more operational security than usual (Seiber 2007, 38). Also, journalists were targeted more often than Soldiers in Afghanistan. American journalists were no longer considered noncombatants (Kamalipour and Snow 2004, 26-27). Public Affairs Officers controlled information provided and locations to which journalists could go (Seiber 2007, 39). However, creative reporters who wanted to get access into Afghanistan in the 1980's were able to do so (Benthall 1993, 36-37), and therefore, it is likely that they were able to gain access in 2002. Many felt that the Bush administration was failing in an international opportunity, so they worked that much harder to bring the story that the government was trying to conceal (Cooke 2007, 198).

Correspondents who did not seek to get into Afghanistan reported a different type of war. The Bush administration asked the American public to "take it on faith that investigators had evidence of al Qaeda and Afghanistan being behind the attacks" of September 11th. *The Washington Post, the Atlanta Journal-Constitution, the Boston*

Phoenix, the *New York Times* and other newspapers challenged the encroachment of the government on American civil liberties and on the rights of detainees in Cuba (Cooke 2007, 187-203).

Back in Afghanistan, reporters who were able to get into the country, interviewed villagers in bombed-out ruins and discovered only dead bodies; no evidence of the Taliban or al Qaeda. Even so, they censored their own stories by minimizing their findings and using the official statements of the Pentagon (Kamalipour and Snow 2004, 31). The press largely accepted the military and the administration's limitations to their freedom of press (Cooke 2007, 189). They understood the dangers and thus decided to remain under the protection of the military. The first of the embedded reporters under new policies were assigned to units in Operations Mountain Lion and Anaconda.

Al-Jazeera - the CNN of the opposing side - portrayed the war in Afghanistan from an enemy sympathetic perspective, which made the United States realize that it must do a better job allowing its story to be told in the Arab and Muslim world. This led to a better embedded journalist strategy for Operation Iraqi Freedom (Moorcraft and Taylor 2008, 176-178).

Iraq

In 1992 the Pentagon produced the Principles for News Media Coverage of DoD Operations. They were designed to allow representatives of the media access to the military during combat operations with both sides (media and military) following nine principles (Burns 2006, 14; Venable 2002, 66). Below is an excerpt from Venable's article:

The DOD Principles for News Media Coverage solidified three concepts: that open and independent reporting was the standard for combat coverage for the future that pools were to be an exception rather than the rule, and that voluntary compliance with security guidelines was a condition of access to U.S. military forces. There is the recent addition of two very important concepts: security at the source and embedding.

Allied news organizations were embedded with operational units in Iraq. One of the goals of the embedding policy was to reduce the allegations that the military acted in secrecy. The embedding policy in Iraq provided the media with unprecedented access to the operations in the war zone, as well as the people operating there. The policy also made it nearly impossible for anyone to claim that the military was hiding something (Lordan 2003, 10). Journalists were trained by the military at Fort Benning, Georgia. This training allowed them to have a better understanding of the military language, life, and the way it conducts operations (Seiber 2007, 40).

Most journalists felt that the embed policy was a huge success; however, some critics worried that it was just another policy directed at providing positive media coverage. Bushell and Cunningham predicted that embedding reporters would provide the world with a personal view of the war from the men and women who were fighting it, but worried that the view would be too narrow, not providing the overall background stories that put the tactical stories into perspective (Bushell and Cunningham 2003, 20-21). Some analysts worried that the media would be biased toward the military. Embedded reporters had a battlefield presence that gave their audiences a much fuller picture of those fighting the war. It would not be unrealistic for the stories from this war to be slanted favorably toward them (Rieder 2003, 6).

Those who felt the policy was a success were generally impressed by the honesty and courage of both the military members and the reporters. The reporting was real, instead of briefed or supposed in commentaries by “experts” in the news rooms. The public seemed to recognize the value of the embedded reporting (Burns 2006, 17). The reporters were in Baghdad to report the looting and the toppling of Saddam’s statue with the help of some U.S. Marines. The Abu Ghraib scandal dominated the news for much of 2004. And, in the United States, the media began to question the accuracy of the intelligence that led to the invasion, the violations of Constitutional rights as ruled by U.S. District Court in Detroit, and the admission of key leaders that this war was going to be a “long war” (Cooke 2007, 205-243).

The media and the military need to be allies. Although the media, especially the news media is a business for profit, they do share with the military a common purpose of supporting democracy. The military protect and uphold the Constitution; the media are watchdogs for the democratic process and the actions of the government (Kracke 2004, 1). “The military want to present stories that will support their campaign, while on the other hand, journalists are supposed to be critical and objective” (Center of Excellence 2007, 115). With the ongoing operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, the military and the media often interact. Both realize the importance of this symbiotic relationship and their responsibilities to the public (Kracke 2004, 51).

History of Military Response to Natural Disasters

Prior to the Twentieth Century, the federal government turned down most requests for aid, believing that the states and local authorities were better able to respond. Most saw government intervention as a “dangerous exercise of power.” This thought

process maintained a small standing army that could not respond in magnitude (Osborne 2006, 3).

Although the War of 1812 saw the military beginning to provide services for the civilian sector, primarily weather data, the Civil War created an environment where the military increased its role in civil matters. The military administered post-Civil War assistance programs. In 1971, LTG P.H. Sheridan requested military assistance for the Great Fire of Chicago. The military provided food, tents, and Infantry Soldiers in order to contain the homeless and restore order. Overall military disaster assistance prior to the Twentieth Century resulted in the Army assisting with seventeen disasters including the earthquake in South Carolina (1886) and flooding in Mississippi and Pennsylvania (Osborne 2006, 4).

Also in the Twentieth Century, the National Guard began to routinely respond to natural disasters as it represented the most significant asset governors had to provide assistance (National Guard Fact Sheet, FY 2005). Along with the increased military involvement, the Red Cross was chartered in 1905 to “maintain a system of domestic and international disaster relief.” Even the Red Cross saw the need for the military’s involvement, stating that they were the most “organized, equipped, and trained” to deal with the situations that arise from a disaster (Osborne 2006, 4-6). Federal disaster relief legislation from 1950 to 1974 continued to involve the military. The Federal Disaster Relief Act of 1974 became the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief Act of 1979 (Stafford Act). The Stafford Act created the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) and attempted to improve the federal government’s disaster response. After Hurricane Andrew, a frustrated public looked to the military to lead disaster relief efforts once

again. Events of September 11th, 2001 led to USNORTHCOM's role in domestic disaster relief operations as part of their Homeland Security Defense mission. Hurricane Katrina was their first full-scale natural disaster response (Osborne 2006, 8-13).

National Guard Response to Natural Disasters

Many people would argue that the unorganized response efforts of many government officials during Hurricane Katrina were largely due to very little planning at the local and state level (Brown 2006, 3). Locally-oriented government efforts are critical to saving lives and easing suffering quickly and effectively because the need is local. Likewise, local organizations are better situated to provide assistance given their knowledge of the geography and the fact that they are part of the culture of the area (Horwitz 2008, 14-17). The response of the National Guard during disaster relief utilizes these concepts.

The Guard is positioned in each state and therefore works closely with state and local governments. When activated, these Guardsmen often personally know the local first responders. In most cases, they are also familiar with the people they are helping (Brown 2006, 8-12). Guardsmen have trained together for many years, often having relationships that last for decades. Civic leaders look to the military in times of disasters because of its resources. Military forces always have critical resources including food, fuel, medical supplies, and the ability to rapidly respond (Gordenker and Weiss 1991, 2). Additionally, Guardsmen are able to be the initial response force and begin the damage assessment process that will allow the state to focus and calibrate recovery efforts (Rodriguez 2008, 78).

Natural disaster relief includes assistance in response to earthquakes, floods, tornado, hurricanes, and wildfires (Osborne 2006, 3). Disaster response may be secondary to the primary job of winning wars, especially in a time of the Global War on Terrorism. However, the public considers domestic emergencies more urgent than foreign engagements and expects to see the National Guard respond and assist (Moore 2006, 57). Past practices and perspectives on the role and responsibility of the military in catastrophic domestic emergencies need to change. Having the National Guard trained and ready for homeland security is more important than preparing them for contingencies overseas because the public has an expectation that the National Guard is to be used for service at home (Davis et al. 2007, 76) Response to domestic emergencies to save lives and secure property is a fundamental role of the government, primarily at the state and local level. The National Guard is a key element of that process (Rodriquez 2008, 77).

Media Coverage of Natural Disasters

Past relationships with the media during disaster response have been somewhat adversarial. The military see the media as a liability instead of recognizing them as a valuable assistant in providing pertinent information to the public and other assistance to the first responders, particularly in the communication arena (EIIP 2008). On the other hand, the media do well in providing detailed information at times when the military does not seem to be able to gather information. The military often rely upon the media for the details just prior to, and immediately following a crisis, especially when the disaster is one that has forewarning (Shah 2005).

Moreover, the mass media perform a number of functions to aid public first responders and private organizations in disaster relief efforts. These functions may

include: conveying instructions to the public as to how to lessen the effects with prior planning; stimulating donations from unaffected areas throughout the state or nation; coordinating large numbers of organizations that would be too difficult to coordinate efficiently in another manner; drawing attention to mitigating factors and encouraging the use of them; providing accurate information in order to alleviate the concerns of family and friends who are not in the disaster area; and providing a form of communication in areas that have not yet regained communication capabilities (Auf der Heide 1989, 10-4; Shah 2005, 8).

The media want a win-win situation. Disasters have it all: drama, intrigue, excitement, fear, and action, as well as quick information and something different from the normal news programs. Hundreds of journalists show up to a disaster scene, looking for the unique and sensational. Sometimes the journalists become part of the story as they stand in the middle of the storm to bring the pictures to their viewers (Auf der Heide 1989; Burns 2006, 1). The word journalist is a broad term that includes television, radio, and print news reporters. Investigative reporters, enterprise reporters, pundits, and analysts are included as journalists. All provide basic information. All of them decide, with the guidance of their editors, what is or is not newsworthy (Rosefilede & Mills 2007, 93). In this way, journalists decide what information people will receive.

Public Affairs Doctrine Applied to the National Guard

The National Guard Bureau (NGB) does not maintain responsibility of the public affairs offices or officers of the states. Army Regulation 360-1 states that each state adjutant general is responsible:

“for public affairs activities, including public information, of Army National Guard (ARNG) units. The chain of communication for ARNG PA matters is through the NGB, public affairs office. The NGB and State adjutants general must keep MACOMs, the numbered armies in the continental United States, and active installation PAOs informed of training activities on active installations that will involve media and visits by very important persons (VIPs). The NGB will establish publishing authority for ARNG unit publications.”

Army Field Manual 46-1 speaks to the importance of the National Guard units having community relationships that contribute the morale of the Guardsmen, but to the cooperation and sustainability of the community toward the unit (1997, 26).

Furthermore, this manual stresses the point that the National Guard, like other branches of the military, has an obligation to keep its audiences informed about its achievements and successes, as well as its problems and failures (1997, 15). National Guard public affairs support all levels of operations (1997, 46).

More than sixty-five percent of the army’s total public affairs force and eighty-five percent of its unit equipment is in the Army Reserve and Army National Guard (FM 3-61.1, 1-10). Each state, territory and the District of Columbia has one military technician who serves as the full-time public affairs officer for the Army and Air National Guard of that state or territory. That person is typically as a member of the Adjutant General’s personal staff. He or she has responsibility for all functions of public affairs in their state as it applies to the both federal and state missions. States may also have additional staff members such as photographers or writers to supplement the public affairs needs of their state. Public affairs units within the states include Public Affairs Operations Centers, Mobile Public Affairs Detachments and Public Affairs Detachments.

While there are some restrictions on overall number and grades, states do structure their state public affairs element to meet the needs of that state (FM 46-1, 53).

Mobile Public Affairs Detachments (MPADs) are numbered units that have a specified organization. Their mission is to support the Public Affairs Officer (PAO) by writing, editing, designing, and producing products in print, photograph, and film. MPADs may be deployed forward to establish media centers (FM 46-1, 57).

Media and the National Guard

Army National Guard and USAR organizations are encouraged to participate in community relations activities, to the maximum extent possible. Local television broadcasters recognize that one of their most important functions is to provide critical “real time” information to viewers in times of emergencies, both man-made and natural (Snider 2006, 7). Local newspapers and occasionally television stations are constantly searching for local stories (CALL Newsletter No. 07-04, 12). Furthermore, great things have been accomplished through personal relationships formed between Guardsmen and the local communities which they serve such as lasting working relationships and an understanding of each side for the services that the other provides (Helmus, Paul, and Glenn 2007, 32). Civilian authorities turn to local military installations or their local National Guard units for several reasons. The most obvious reason may be the physical assets such as transportation, fuel, building supplies, tools and equipment, and manpower (Gordenker and Weiss 1991, 57).

In April 2005, the Wisconsin Army National Guard’s 2-127th Infantry Battalion mobilized for a deployment to Iraq. The battalion’s Civil Affairs Officer, Captain Benjamin Buchholz, who works full time as the training officer and is a published author,

wrote *Private Soldiers: A Year in Iraq with a Wisconsin National Guard Unit*. Two members of his unit, Staff Sergeant Joseph Streeter and Lieutenant Nathan Olson, provided the many photographs of the book. Both of them have private photography businesses (Buchholz 2007). The book chronicles the deployment of the unit with pictures and vignettes, telling their story in their own words. Privately published books are becoming a popular way to tell the National Guard story.

In democratic nations, the media influences public opinion. Public opinion influences the political policies, including those policies concerning war or major conflict involvement. In this indirect manner, the media manipulates the decision makers a democracy. The public learns much of its information, especially events overseas, from the media, and therefore can be influenced by the media. The public opinion of the military is swayed by the media in this manner (Hudson and Stanier 1998, 303-304).

A prevailing idea concerning the relationship between the media and the military is that it is the reporter's job to seek the news and the military's job to ensure that they did not get what the military do not want them to have. The relationship between the two is, at times, adversarial. At other times, the media is the conscience of the policy makers and the military leaders; a watchdog for democracy, ensuring that intervention occurs when required. The good news is that, by having this relationship and arguing the points of the relationship with each new war, conflict, disaster, or other event, over and over again, the spirit of the freedom of speech remains alive, as does the spirit of the American military (Matthews 1957, 205- 216).

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to determine if the National Guard could utilize the media in a better way to tell the response story of its members. The organization of Chapter 3 presents the methodology used to research the purpose of this study. This chapter describes the presentation and application of the methodology used to present the case studies and the analysis of the information in the following chapters. Unlike other case study comparisons that seek to determine which of the compared cases had the best approach, this study will look at the three case studies and offer recommendations in a DOTMLPF format for future use of the media within the National Guard.

Case Studies

Case study refers to the collection and presentation of detailed information about a particular participant or small group. It can also be a medium which provides a deeper, more comprehensive understanding of a subject through thick description. Thick description involves detailed description of the entity, the circumstances, the characteristics, and the nature of its community (Colorado State University 2008).

There are two types of case studies. The first is factual and the second is fictional. Factual case studies depict real events while fictional ones are loosely based upon real cases, yet do not go into the depth of personal or identifying description. Factual case studies can provide an abundance of detail. Fictional case studies are theoretical and, therefore do not maintain the same creditability as factual studies. Either type of study

provides a good means of presenting a lot of data about a topic and allows comparison and contrast analysis (Warner 2008).

There are two ways to approach a case study. One is to use the case study to build a theory. This process uses the analysis of the case study to create the insight while reconciling the evidence from the study. Because of the connection between the theory and the data, the theory can likely be tested by future studies (Berg 2007, 285-286). The second approach, the one this study will use, is to build the theory, or hypothesis, first and then use the case study to validate the theory. This approach is more biased than the first approach. The researcher has an idea and is looking to prove it. However, by having the idea first, the researcher is able to scale the case study to certain points and avoid too broad of a study (Berg 2007, 285-286). Because of the scope of Hurricane Katrina and the many number of events that could be studied within that one catastrophe, a theory first approach makes more sense. For additional clarity in what could be a confusing case study analysis, the author uses the two tables presented in this chapter as a means of consolidating the information.

This study will examine three different disaster situations, two of which occurred one after the other within the same state. The Greensburg, Kansas Tornado was a recent EF5 tornado that almost completely destroyed an entire town. The devastation was so disastrous that it moved the President of the United States to visit the town in the days following the tornado, and then he visited again a year later to deliver the high school commencement address. Seldom has a disaster such as this received such prestigious attention. In fact, the following case study of the Coffeyville Floods was chosen for that particular reason. How could the President devote so much attention to one town

following a disaster and then almost completely ignore another town in the same state only a couple of months later?

The three disaster situations are Hurricane Katrina (August 28, 2005); the Greensburg, Kansas tornado (May 4, 2007); and the Coffeyville, Kansas floods (June 30, 2007). These events lend themselves as subjects for studies. They offer a means of comparison of the media coverage each disaster did or did not receive in terms of response efforts by the National Guard. Together, the tornado and flood create a similar situation to that of Hurricane Katrina and thus, offer a comparison to Hurricane Katrina in terms of catastrophic disaster response over a period of time. These two events occurred one after the other in the same state and coincided with a number of other floods within the state, therefore, they do offer a comparison in the terms of overwhelming state resources. The tornado and flood occurrences were so close together that the Kansas National Guard was preparing troop rotation and reduction, handoff between military and civilian officials, and re-deployment operations of the response to the Greensburg tornado when the Coffeyville flood hit (NGB SITREP #44: Kansas NG Response to tornado, 2007; NGB SITREP #47: Kansas NG Response to tornado and flood, 2007). Additionally, as in Louisiana, state National Guard assets were strained by a recent deployment to Iraq.

Information is critical to the ability of the first responders in many various ways. Situational awareness means different things to different officials. Information provides situational awareness which leads to knowledge of the conditions on the ground, a common operating picture among the first responders, and a knowledge of available assets and their locations (Davis et al. 2007, 77). During a disaster the information often

comes from the media coverage. The media, many times, provide the real-time information to victims and responders in the area that helps them to make critical, time sensitive decisions, such as taking a cleared road instead of one that appears clear but will ultimately cause a four-hour delay. Information provides situational awareness to the Guardsmen which, in turn, helps them to serve the people in the area. Guardsmen can direct people to the correct assistance centers, help them to avoid danger areas or areas that have not yet been cleared or approved for re-entry.

The “Citizen-Soldier is one of the governor’s instruments of power” (Brown 2006, 6). The National Guard belongs to the governor in each state when the Guardsmen are in Title 32 status, and to the federal government while in Title 10 status. Title 10 status is also the status of the active duty military. This becomes important during a disaster when law enforcement assistance is required. Those in Title 10 status cannot perform law enforcement operations per the *Posse Comitatus* of 1878, however, Title 32 forces are designed with the intent of helping states preserve law and order in times of crises (Trebilcock 2000). Governors have the National Guard as their asset during times of state disaster. In this status, Guardsmen are able to perform law enforcement duties within their state, or if requested through an agreement called the Emergency Management Assistance Compact (EMAC), provide these duties to the governor of another state in times of crisis (Brown 2006, 6). In this manner, National Guard units from other states were able to provide relief assistance and law enforcement assistance to Mississippi and Louisiana in support of Hurricane Katrina recovery efforts.

Managing extensive disasters requires organizational skills and assets that are routinely found in the military (Silverstein 1992, xi). Military leaders are accustomed to

managing numerous details such as those necessary to coordinate relief and recovery operations. Military personnel are accustomed to providing the details of service required to assist local populations. This is particularly true of National Guardsmen who train to support the states during times of crises.

National Guard leaders and members need real-time information in order to know the location of and how to access available local assets such as medical facilities and personnel, police, and fire fighters. Knowing this information allows them to be better able to conduct the relief mission. Real-time information gets word to those who need the assistance, such as where the shelters are, as well as provides instructional information such as which roads are trafficable and which are not.

These local assets need to be part of the relief and recovery as quickly as possible in order to return the long term recovery efforts to the local governments when the National Guard mission is completed (Silverstein 1992, 91). The media can help to provide this real-time information because their primary focus is to find the stories and report them.

Structure of the Paper

Although the structure of the paper is presented in the introduction, it is prudent to review it during the discussion of methodology. The first chapter presented the purpose and formatted the logic of the paper. It introduced the thesis and explained why the research is relevant. In addition, the introduction defines some terminology and processes that will be referred to often throughout other chapters. There is a complete list of terms in the glossary at the end of the paper, as well as a list of acronyms at the beginning of the paper.

Chapter 2 highlights the current literature selected as reference for this paper. It frames that literature into themes for credibility and clarity. Additionally, Chapter 2 provides some insight into the current understanding of the media relationship with the National Guard at its three levels: national, state, and local.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology of the research. It refers to how the research was conducted and the means by which research and writing decisions were made. Chapter 3 presents some questions in a chart format that helps to organize the goal of the analysis of Chapter 4.

The literature review helped to answer a few of the questions within the following charts; however, the case study analysis should complete this chart in Chapter 4. The idea is to present the information in one centralized location to better grasp the concept of how the media coverage of the National Guard response was different in each incident and some examples of factors that may or may not have led to those differences, such as the successful media campaign of the Coast Guard during Hurricane Katrina.

In Chapter 4, the presentation of the case studies and the analysis of the information completes Table 1. And, finally, Chapter 5 offers some findings, completes Table 2, and provides a summary, conclusions reached, and recommendations as to the use of the findings or conclusions in a DOTMLPF format. Additionally, Chapter 5 contains an analysis of this research and ideas for further research.

Table 1. Case Study Review Questions, Blank Chart

	Hurricane Katrina	Greensburg Tornado	Coffeyville Flood
Did the National Guard respond?			
Number of National Guard to respond?			
Was National Guard response covered in local media?			
Was the National Guard response covered in state level media?			
Was the National Guard response covered in national level media			
Examples of unsuccessful media coverage of response			
Examples of successful media coverage of response			
Presidential Involvement			
Estimated \$\$ Amount of Damage			
As of September 2008, still in recovery operations?			

Source: Created By Author

Table 2. DOTMLPF-P Blank Summary

	Recommended changes
Doctrine	
Organization	
Training	
Materiel	
Leadership	
Personnel	
Facilities	
Policy	

Source: Created By Author

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Hurricane Katrina

Hurricane Katrina is a case study with many variations of lessons learned for the national planners and policy makers (Davis et. al. 2007, 6-7). This storm was the first natural disaster after the implementation of the National Response Plan. Federal level response included National Guardsmen in a Title 32 status, and then the Department of Defense added a large response force (Meyer 2007, 5).

“Katrina was an unnatural disaster.” The damage from this hurricane occurred more because of human error than from the hurricane itself, causing an artificial disaster (Horne 2006, xv – xvi). The collapse of the levees and the resulting flood caused the majority of the disaster in New Orleans. The hurricane was only the catalyst for that destruction.

Friday, August 26, 2005, Governor Blanco declared a state of emergency in Louisiana and activated the Louisiana National Guard. LTG Honoré confirmed that the Gulf Coast States had begun the process of requesting federal troop assistance from the Pentagon (Think Progress 2008; Senate Report 109-322, 67). Some timelines now in use indicate that Governor Haley Barbour of Mississippi declared a state of emergency and activated his National Guard (Senate Report 109-322, 67) and other timelines report that he declared the emergency the next day as the storm was upgraded to a category three hurricane (Think Progress 2008).

August 27, two days before final landfall, Mississippi’s State Emergency Response Team (ERT) deployed to Camp Shelby and three coastal counties with

approximately 750 Guardsmen (Meyer 2007, 5). Alabama National Guardsmen also deployed to Camp Shelby in order to be prepositioned to provide relief immediately following the storm. Within two days after the storm, military police units from the Alabama and Tennessee Army National Guards were also in Gulfport assisting local law enforcement. By the end of the first week of the response, the military forces in Mississippi and Louisiana had grown to over 26,000 National Guard forces representing all fifty-four states and U.S. territories and almost 10,000 active duty forces (Davis et al. 2007, 42).

Also on August 27th, FEMA Director Michael Brown appeared on CNN to request that residents of the coastal states, particularly in Louisiana, leave as soon as possible. The National Hurricane Center (NHC) issued a hurricane watch for New Orleans because, although not one at this point in the timeline, the NHC predicted a category five storm. After being briefed about the severity of the looming storm by the hurricane center at Louisiana State University (LSU), Governor Blanco called up the Louisiana National Guard, put state agencies on alert, and then she went on local television to urge residents to leave the area (Brinkley 2006, 625; Horne 2006, 15; van Heerden 2006, 53). Later the same day, she appeared at a press conference with the mayor of New Orleans in order to declare a state of emergency; however, neither of the two enforced a mandatory evacuation (Brinkley 2006, 625). The next day, as the Coast Guard closed ports and waterways in the gulf, the NHC upgraded the storm and signaled a hurricane warning via the media. President Bush spoke to the governors of all of the effected states, as well as Mayor Nagin, and mandatory evacuations in New Orleans, the Gulf coast of Mississippi and Alabama, and parts of Florida began. These evacuations

were announced via the radio and television (Brinkley 2006, 626). Those who owned cars left; those who did not sought refuge in last minute shelters. When the Superdome opened as a last alternative shelter, the media converged on it. It had the makings of great news stories: a mass of hungry people; babies, the elderly, and the disabled all in danger; the possibility of an angry or violent crowd; and eventually, the dead (Cooper and Block 2006, 183).

Whatever had been keeping correspondents from reporting controversial stories finally broke and the news programs filled with more critical examinations of the government while managing this disaster at all levels (Bennett 2007, pg. 10). The media began to look for indications from the government of stories that would dramatize their mismanagement of this natural disaster. FEMA ordered 25,000 body bags and then tried to prevent any journalists from reporting the order, fearful that doing so would cause a panic and portray FEMA in a negative manner. CNN representatives went to court to ensure they maintained their rights to report this story and won (van Heerden 2006, 196). Michael Brown, director of FEMA, while being interviewed by Ted Koppel on ABC's *Nightline*, claimed that he was unaware of the devastation in New Orleans. After noting that the news media had been reporting the deteriorating situation for two days, Koppel asked of Brown: "Don't you guys watch television? Don't you listen to the radio?" (Bennett 2007, pg. 167). Brown's interviews with CNN and FOX News did not go any better than his interview at ABC. He continued to give alternating information about the storm and the capabilities of the government to protect those left in the city to each network (Cooper and Block 2006, 147). Meanwhile, in Mississippi, television crews were almost ignoring the more conventional disaster which devastated the Mississippi

coastline. The disaster along the coast of Mississippi did not have the level of drama that New Orleans did and therefore could not compete in terms of media coverage (Cooper and Block 2006, 170).

While the reporters fought the information battles, the National Guard positioned itself for the unexpected throughout the area marked as the likely path of the hurricane by the NHC. They put their headquarters for Katrina operations in the Superdome (Real Clear Politics 2006) with approximately 550 troops to provide security for about 9,000 citizens (Brinkley 2006, 627). A helicopter inserted a 30-man special team with full riot gear (Cooper & Block 2006, 121 and 192) into the areas around the Superdome. From the Superdome, the National Guard Headquarters supervised approximately 2,500 troops - who had remained in the city and rode out the storm-, twelve emergency shelters, more than two hundred boats and other high-water vehicles, 150 helicopters, a medical facility to accommodate 5,000 people, and coordinated the efforts of the police and firefighters (Real Clear Politics 2006).

During this time before the storm, President Bush, Michael Brown, and Michael Chertoff participated in a video conference in which Max Mayfield, Director of the NHC, warned them of the magnitude of the coming storm. The video conference was necessary because President Bush was at his ranch in Texas (Brinkley 2006, 627). Later, President Bush and Chertoff claimed to have been surprised by the devastation of the storm. There was no civilian leadership in New Orleans. As such, what situational awareness there was came from the media and the storm reports came from the National Hurricane Center in Florida (Cooper and Block 2006, 183).

Sunday, August 28, the U.S. Coast Guard closed ports and waterways in the hurricane's predicted path, as well as staged personnel, aircraft and boats to be used for rescue efforts immediately following the storm (Brinkley 2006, 626). The storm was upgraded, first to a category four, and then to a category five hurricane. Mayor Nagin issued a mandatory evacuation of New Orleans as newspapers reported that there was much fear that levees would not hold. Dr. Mayfield from the NHC reported to President Bush, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Chertoff that the levees would not hold in the magnitude of the storm. Approximately 30,000 individuals moved to the Superdome for shelter and the Louisiana National Guard requested 700 buses from FEMA in order to evacuate those people. They received one hundred (Think Progress 2008).

Also on Sunday, Mississippi evacuated coastal counties while Mr. Brown of FEMA, Mr. Chertoff of DHS, and Mr. Mayfield of the NHC participated in a videoconference with the President. Again, the videoconference was necessary because the President was at his ranch in Texas, the Vice-President was fishing in Wyoming, and the Chief of Staff was in Maine. No senior government official was dedicated to the storm. The first rains of the storm began to hit the coast of Mississippi near Biloxi and Gulfport (Brinkley 2006, 627; Senate Report 109-322, 68).

At 5:20 A.M. on Monday, August 29th, the Biloxi/Gulfport Regional Airport reported winds of 78 miles per hour. Almost two hours later, in Pascagoula, Mississippi, the winds were 118 miles per hour. A 25-foot storm surge struck the Mississippi Coast, and the water levels in Louisiana areas were ten to fifteen feet deep. At 8:00 A.M., Mayor Nagin confirmed during an interview on NBC's *Today* show that there would be flooding, but he was uncertain as to how much (Brinkley 2006, 628). The mayor did not

immediately return to New Orleans. The NHC stopped all hurricane watches, and a half an hour later President Bush declared Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama disaster areas. An hour later Michael Brown ordered one thousand FEMA employees to the Gulf Coast, however, he gave them two days to be there. President Bush went to Arizona to make a speech about Medicare instead of going to the devastated areas (Brinkley 2006, 629). Secretary Rumsfeld went to a baseball game (Think Progress 2008). Governor Blanco requested “everything you’ve got” from the President. He had his photo taken with Senator John McCain and traveled to California to discuss social security and Medicare drug benefits at a senior citizen’s home (Think Progress 2008). The President did sign the federal disaster declarations for Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama. He also declared Florida – where his brother was the governor – a federal disaster area (Senate Report 109-322 2006, 68).

Throughout the day the storm hit New Orleans, with images of victims, often exaggerated instance of looting, and general civil unrest filled the media (Benivegna 2007, pg.61). Reporters exaggerated the stories, showing the images over and over again, in opposition to reporting the rescue efforts of the National Guard and the U.S. Coast Guard, stating throughout their coverage that “if they (the media) could get there, why couldn’t the government” (Guardian 2005). A member of the team at the LSU Hurricane Center commented that he was impressed with the media and their efforts during the storm and its aftermath. *“The media did an amazing job getting to places where FEMA said it could not get to and reporting the situation on the ground. Often, the media was the only source of situational awareness”* (van Heerden 2006, 53, 102-103).

The Louisiana National Guard and the U.S. Coast Guard began their rescue operations in the mid-afternoon, approximately seven hours after landfall of the hurricane. In Mississippi, similar rescue operations began approximately an hour later. The Mississippi Emergency Management Agency began search and rescue operations approximately 10:00 P.M. Mr. Brown made only assurances that FEMA would provide services. Nothing from FEMA was actually “on the way” (Senate Report 109-322, 69).

The next day, August 30, the National Guard from other states began their response to Hurricane Katrina. 178 Guardsmen arrived in Louisiana and sixteen in Mississippi. Throughout the week following landfall, the number of Guardsmen from other states rose to almost 23,500 in Louisiana and 11,500 in Mississippi (Bowman, Kapp, and Belasco 2005, 11). Most of those who responded volunteered to do so, instead of waiting to be activated by their governors. Initially Guardsmen were put onto state active duty (SAD). Many were uncertain as to their pay status, but volunteered anyway. Eventually, out-of-state Guardsmen who responded voluntarily were put onto Title 32 orders (Bowman, Kapp, and Belasco 2005, 7-10).

Key leaders sent conflicting and often unusual information messages throughout the rescue and recovery operations of Katrina. In New Orleans, Mayor Nagin opened the convention center as a refuge center (Senate Report 109-322, 69). Mr. Chertoff went to Atlanta to attend a conference on avian flu (Brinkley 2006, 631). Pentagon Spokesman Lawrence DiRita stated that there were enough National Guard troops in the area to handle the rescue and recovery missions (Think Progress 2008), even as the acting Secretary of Defense was appointing LTG Honoré Commander of Joint Task Force Katrina and planning to send active duty forces to the area. Mr. Chertoff designated

Michael Brown as the Principal Federal Official (PFO) to manage the response and recovery operations (Senate Report 109-322, 69). New Orleans City Councilwoman Jackie Clarkson reported to the media that the French Quarter had been attacked and looting was out of control. She stated that police were dealing with criminal activities rather than search and rescue operations (Think Progress 2008). At the same time, President Bush was in San Diego, California for V-J Day Anniversary celebrations at the naval station (Brinkley 2006, 632).

On August 31, Health and Human Services Secretary Michael Levitt declared a public health emergency for Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida (Senate Report 109-322, 70). There were 78,000 people in Mississippi living in shelters and the Coast Guard had rescued more than 4,000 people who needed sheltered. People in New Orleans began using the Convention Center as a shelter. LTG Honoré assembled a command center at Camp Shelby, Mississippi, using the operations that were in place for mobilization of Guardsmen preparing to go to Iraq. President Bush flew over the Gulf Coast in Air Force One and later that day addressed the nation in his first speech devoted to Hurricane Katrina. Mayor Nagin declared martial law, ordering police officers to stop rescue efforts and focus entirely on controlling looting (Brinkley 2006, 632-633). Federally contracted buses arrived in New Orleans and began evacuation of special needs shelters and rescuing people from highway overpasses. Plans were made to send evacuees to the Astrodome in Houston Texas. LTG Blum, Chief of the National Guard Bureau, directed all State Adjutants General to rapidly deploy available Guardsmen to Louisiana and Mississippi (Senate Report 109-322, 70).

Conflicting and unusual media messages and senior leader responses continued. Reports of “tens of thousands trapped in Superdome” and that children were being raped began what would continue to be a flood of reports in the media that were later unfounded, but never retracted. Simultaneously, Mr. Chertoff announced that he was extremely pleased with the government’s response efforts. At a Broadway show that evening, Condoleezza Rice was booed by audience members. Mr. Brown claimed to have been unaware of how large the storm could be (Think Progress 2008).

On September 1, buses were dedicated to be used to evacuate the Superdome. Colonel Terry Ebbert, Director of the New Orleans Department of Homeland Security and Public Safety and MG Landreneau, Louisiana TAG, discussed a plan allowing the Louisiana Guard to assist the police in evacuating the Convention Center (Senate Report 109-322, 70). Eighty police officers attempted to take control of the Convention Center, but were unsuccessful (Brinkley 2006, 634). While President Bush announced the Hurricane Katrina Relief Fund, co-chaired by former Presidents Bush and Clinton, Mayor Nagin went on CNN to deliver a “desperate SOS” (Think Progress 2008). Later that day on a radio program, the Mayor again complained about the federal response to New Orleans (Brinkley 2006, 635). Mr. Brown made claims on CNN that he did not know of any civil unrest in New Orleans, and finally acknowledged the need to direct resources to the Convention Center. Condoleezza Rice was verbally assaulted by patrons in a shoe store for her seemingly uncaring attitude throughout the disaster relief process (Think Progress 2008).

On September 2, the governor of Alabama, Bob Riley, requested permission to retain National Guardsmen on Title 32 orders for a period of 180 days in order to ensure

a force large enough to respond to relief efforts. Governor Haley Barbour of Mississippi did the same on September 4th and Governor Kathleen Blanco followed with a similar request on September 5th (US House of Representatives Report #109-396, 21-23). One thousand Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Nevada National Guardsmen under the leadership of Colonel Jacques Thibodeaux of the Louisiana National Guard move to the Convention Center in order to secure and evacuate it (Senate Report 109-322, 74). They brought enough 200,000 meals and plenty of water (Brinkley 2006, 635). Colonel Thibodeaux ordered everyone to receive one meal and two bottles of water and they were allowed to go through the line as many times as they wanted. Members of the police force made announcements of the feeding lines on their patrol car radios which seemed to help calm the crowd. Colonel Thibodeaux confirmed this as he walked through the crowd talking with them and reassuring them that they would be evacuated the next morning (Senate Report Interview with Colonel Thibodeaux, January 12, 2006; audiotape).

Members of the President's staff prepared a DVD of all of the horrific reporting, beginning with the two days prior to landfall of the hurricane to allow him to see the negative reporting he had received in the media. Afterwards, he praised Mr. Brown for doing a "heck of job" and staged a photo-op with fifty volunteer firefighters, using as a backdrop Coast Guard helicopters that were diverted from rescue missions. He told the Associated Press that he was satisfied with the response. Later that day, Congress approved \$10.5 billion in initial aid for rescue and relief efforts (Think Progress 2008).

During "A Concert for America," produced by NBC, singer Kanye West complained about the response efforts in New Orleans, saying that they were racially biased (Think Progress, 2008; Brinkley 2006, 636). Several other celebrities, including

Oprah, who is from Mississippi and Harry Connick, Jr. who is from New Orleans, made negative statements about the response efforts in each respective area.

On September 3, Colonel Thibodeaux successfully completes the evacuation of the Convention Center, the Superdome was evacuated, and stranded personnel along Interstate 10 were evacuated (Brinkley 2006, 637). The White House sought to control all military forces in the area; however, Governor Blanco maintained control of the Louisiana National Guard forces; therefore, the President sent LTG Honoré with a 7,200- man active duty task force to Gulf Coast (Senate Report 109-322, 70).

Senior government publicity concerning the federal government's response and attitude toward the storm worsened. On September 5, the former first lady, Barbara Bush degraded the people of New Orleans, saying that the situation was not that bad for many of them because they were "underprivileged anyway." Later that week, FEMA Director Michael Brown resigned. President Bush took responsibility for the "flawed response" (Think Progress 2008).

The Coast Guard's Successful Public Affairs in Hurricane Katrina

The Coast Guard was the one military entity that emerged from Hurricane Katrina successful in regards to its media operations. Admiral Allen stated: "*Katrina was as much a communications crisis as it was a natural disaster.*" He recognized the need to talk to the American public to let them know that someone was in charge in that area. His press assistant ensured that the media had access to him while he was in the disaster site, and that any requests for interviewed were quickly vetted and approved by DHS headquarters in order to ensure the media's deadlines were met in a timely manner (Austin 2007, 78).

Commander Jeff Carter, the head of Coast Guard (CG) Media Relations, attributed the CG's success during Hurricane Katrina this way: *"While some agencies were managing both operations and public affairs from DC and failing at both, the CG was managing operations and public affairs locally and reaping national benefits"* (Austin 2007, 77). The objective of the media relations program is to have maximum disclosure of information with minimum delay. This way, the media get the story from the Coast Guard directly, instead of getting it from other sources. This improves the likelihood that information reported to the public will be accurate (Austin 2007, 22). The notable difference between the Coast Guard's committed Public Affairs personnel and other military agencies is the scope of work each person is expected to accomplish. For instance, a DOD public affairs specialist may be involved in only one of the following activities—taking pictures, writing articles or speaking on camera with the media. A Coast Guard public affairs specialist is expected to do all three (Austin 2007, 23). The Coast Guard enjoyed positive public perception, not just because it performed well operationally, but because it was able to get its story out to the public very effectively, despite some serious logistical challenges. Other agencies also performed well during the response to Hurricane Katrina, but they did not fare as well in the media or public's perception (Austin 2007, 84).

The Coast Guard's Public Affairs Program has five primary objectives. They are:

1. Keeping the American public informed about the Coast Guard's ongoing operations and programs, thereby fostering understanding and support for all our missions.
2. Making our world a better place to serve and live by taking an active role in community activities and challenges.

3. Helping Coast Guard leadership attract, motivate and retain highly professional people to continue our tradition of dedicated quality service to the country.
4. Helping save lives by educating and informing the American public, thus reducing accidents and casualties.
5. Educating elected and public officials of the Coast Guard's role in their community and nation for continued healthy fiscal support for our service (Austin, 2007, 22).

Tornado: Greensburg, Kansas

Greensburg, named for stagecoach driver D.R. "Cannonball" Green, was established in 1886 when Governor John Martin organized Kiowa County, Kansas. Mr. Green was instrumental in incorporating the town; bringing stability and prosperity to the area with his stageline. Eventually, though, the stageline was driven out by the railroad. In either case, the town remained small with an estimated population of only 1,500 (Greensburg Official Site 2008).

An EF5 tornado touched down in the city of Greensburg on May 4, 2007 at approximately 9:45 P.M. It flattened ninety-five percent of the city (Hegeman 2008), caused eleven fatalities, and almost one hundred injuries (Greensburg Official Site 2008). Large amounts of debris and severe weather impeded door to door searches for survivors who might need immediate assistance (Hegeman, 2008). Local officials reported extreme destruction of the city with no power, water, natural gas or communications available. The destruction of the tornado in the town was approximate 1.3 miles long and approximately a mile wide. It had sustained wind speeds in excess of 200 miles per hour (Unruh 2007, 16). As it swept through the town, it destroyed the heart of the town, leaving behind only the outskirt buildings and those strong enough to withstand the force,

such as the courthouse (Yoder 2008). The path of the tornado overall was nearly two miles wide and twenty-two miles long (PBS.org).

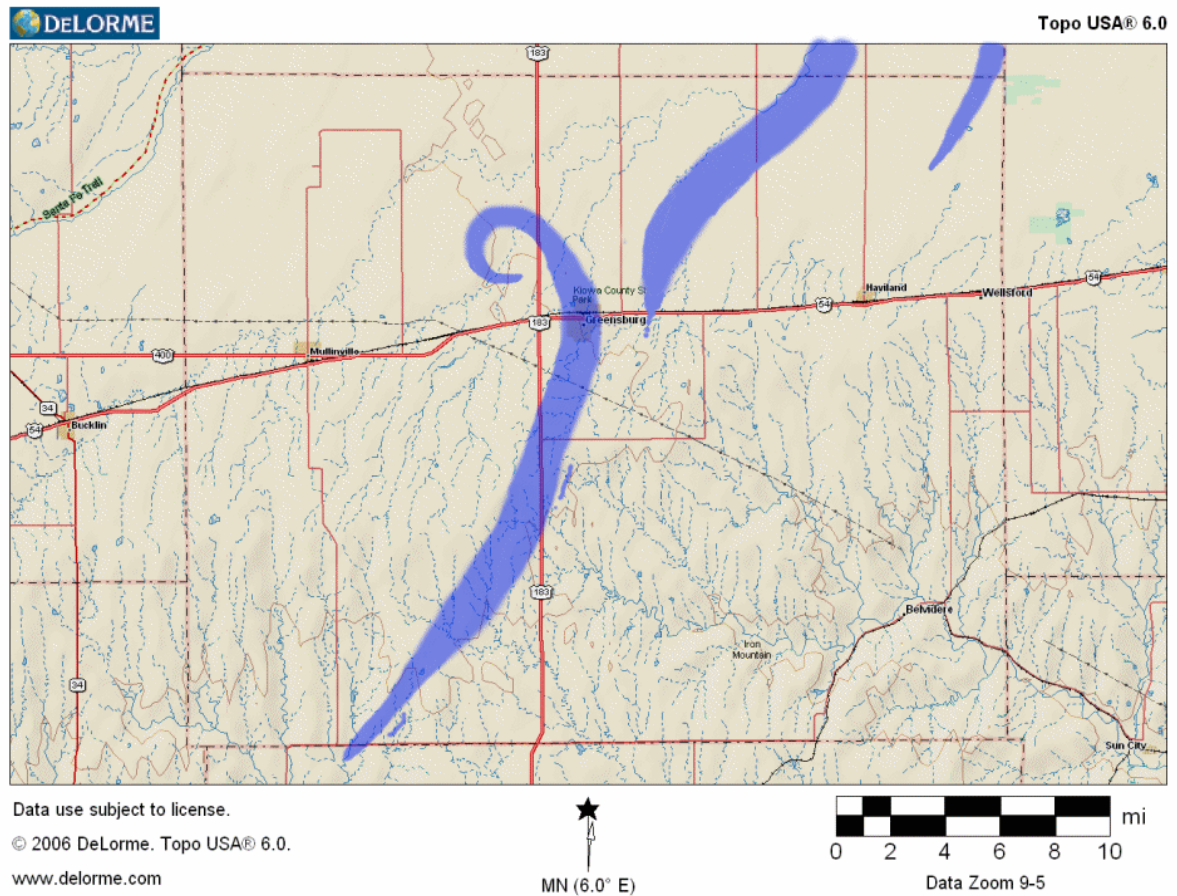


Figure 1. Map of Greensburg Tornado Path

Source: Image retrieved from http://www.weather.com/blog/weather/8_12502.html on October 11, 2008. Image first seen in photograph section of *Tornado! Up from the Debris to Thank God*. Eric and Fern Unruh. 2007. Privately published.

The initial report to the Kansas Emergency Management and Homeland Security was at 11:00 P.M. Initially, the damage was thought to be approximately sixty percent of the town, with Main Street being totally demolished. Twenty to thirty people were trapped inside the hospital (Yoder 2008). Initial reports to the National Guard Bureau were that the town suffered sixty to ninety percent destruction, between three and seven deaths, fifty personnel being treated at neighboring hospitals, and sixteen personnel

trapped in the town's hospital (Kansas Tornado Response National Guard Update #2). The immediate response of the Kansas National Guard was seventy-one personnel from eight units. Support included establishing an emergency Command Post, conducting an engineer assessment, providing generators, and preparing a logistical staging area (Kansas Tornado Response National Guard Update #2). Within two days, the National Guard support to the disaster relief increased to 377 personnel (twenty-five of whom were not on state active duty), the addition of more engineering assets, a sustainment brigade, and a communications package (Kansas Tornado Response National Guard Update #4). Additionally, the NGB had similar personnel and capabilities prepared to deploy to Greensburg if needed: a Joint Force Headquarters, Civil Support Teams, Maintenance, Aviation, Engineering, Medical, Communications, Transportation, Security, and Logistics (Kansas Tornado Response National Guard Update #5). A day later, the number of National Guard personnel in Greensburg was more than 550 (Kansas Tornado Response National Guard Update #6).

Ultimately, this tornado was the most damaging to hit the United States in several years; but, not the first large scale tornado of the year. *"The whole community is gone, the infrastructure of every bank, every business. Everybody's home is gone,"* Governor Sebelius in a PBS interview. The tornado was part of a larger system that affected three other states (PBS.org). Severe weather continued throughout the state of Kansas months after this storm; an example is the Coffeyville case study which will follow this tornado case study (Kansas Tornado & Disaster Response National Guard Update #7).

The Kansas State Operations Center notified the National Guard Bureau Joint Operations Center at noon on May 5, 2007 that they deployed Kansas National Guard

units to support local officials in Greensburg (National Guard Bureau Initial Executive Summary dated May 5, 2007). Even with this rapid response, some were concerned about the availability of the Guard for state missions. Governor Kathleen Sebelius told a CNN reporter that the state was missing about fifty percent of its equipment, primarily trucks (Think Progress 2008), and then, two days later during an interview on MSNBC, she warned the federal government that the National Guard deployment in Iraq hurt her ability to respond to a tornado (MSNBC, May 9, 2007). Some Kansas National Guard equipment and personnel were still in Iraq, causing difficulties for those units that did respond. The Kansas National Guard experienced an approximately forty percent shortage of equipment (KCBS 2008). The equipment and personnel shortages made responding difficult, and perhaps slower, but did not negate the response. *“If it is in the National Guard, and the Governor needs it, she will get it”*, LTG Blum, Chief of the National Guard Bureau (Kansas Tornado & Disaster Response National Guard Update #7). Additionally, Mayor Lonnie McCollom said that he was “more than satisfied” with the federal response. Mayor McCollom: *“From my perspective, all I can say is I have had all the help I have needed”* (MSNBC, May 9, 2007).

Sergeant Sara Wood, American Forces Press Service (www.army.mil), wrote that more than 300 members of the Kansas National Guard were activated in response to the tornado. Kendal Lothman, the Deputy Coordinator of the Kiowa County Emergency Management, stated that there were approximately 500 Guardsmen who responded to the tornado. “I don’t know what we would have done without the Kansas Guard and KDOT.” Lothman said that the Guard did everything from remove debris to build the steps and landings on the temporary city offices provided by FEMA (Lothman 2008).

The Kansas Emergency Management listed the number of Guardsmen conducting recovery operations in Greensburg as 500+ (Yoder 2008). The Kansas Army Guard's 278th Sustainment Brigade established a joint task force near the incident site. Guardsmen provided search and rescue, logistical support, debris clearing, and support to local law enforcement. Additionally, they assisted in building shelters or provided their armories as shelters, as well as distributed essential needs items such as food and water. The 891st Engineer Battalion completed reconnaissance in the area around Greensburg on May 5, 2007 (Kansas Tornado Response National Guard Updates #3 and #4). "Bay Street was lined with National Guard vehicles. The men [Guardsmen] were everywhere, helping with everything (Stegman 2008).

Even as MSNBC interviewed the Governor, the President of the United States conducted an assessment visit (Whitehouse.gov, accessed May 9, 2008). It is unclear as to why the President chose to visit this small town and not to visit one of the many other communities in the Midwest that were being devastated by the severe weather patterns. Perhaps he was struck by the strength of character from the townspeople in the wake of such total devastation (whitehouse.gov, accessed May 9, 2008). Perhaps he was convinced by Senator Sam Brownback or Representative Jerry Moran, both Kansas republicans who had visited the area within three days of the storm (PBS.org). He said that he visited in the hopes that he could "touch somebody's soul by representing our country" (Fox News, 2008).

Mike Umscheid of the National Weather Service in Dodge City, Kansas, was the one who ensured that the tornado warnings went to Greensburg. The town had approximately twenty-five minutes notice prior to the tornado. The President called

Umscheid on his cell phone, probably having gotten the number from Senator Pat Roberts to thank him for his professional service. Later, Umscheid was one of a select few who were invited to brief President Bush during his visit (Unruh 2007, 129-130) Ray Stegman, the Kiowa County Emergency Management Coordinator, stated that the attention from the President was humbling, but it also caused all recovery efforts to stop the two times that he visited. The media “lined up Main Street, and pretty much covered the entire town” (Stegman 2008).

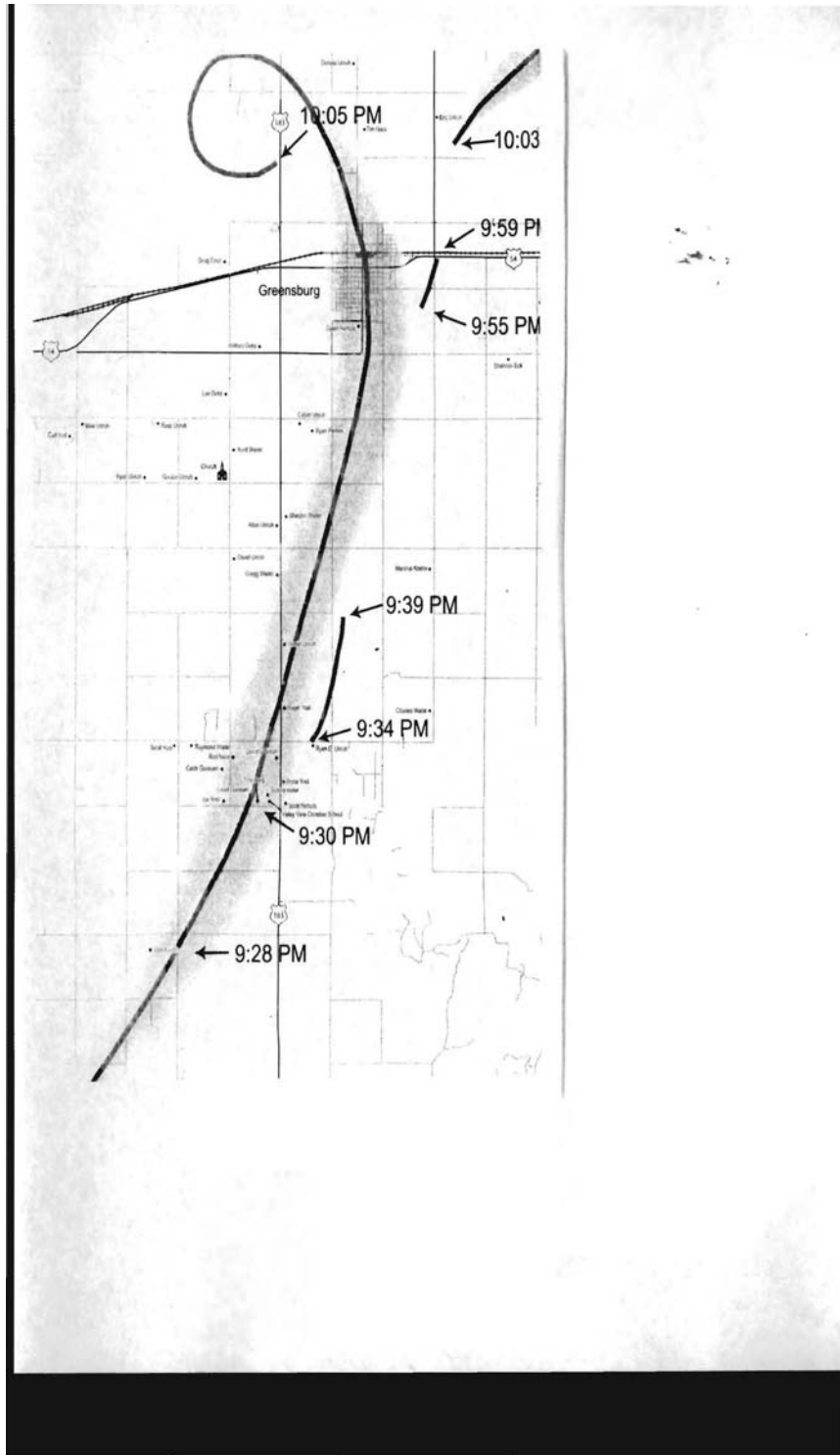


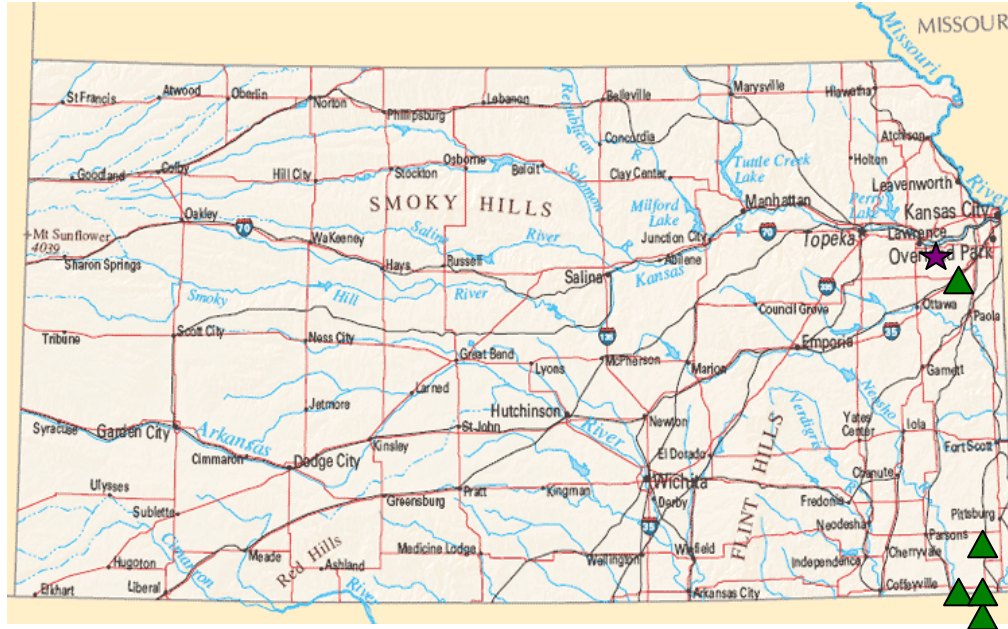
Figure 2. Map Of Path Of Tornado
Source: Tornado! Up from the Debris, Eric and Fern Unruh. 2007

Flood: Coffeyville, Kansas

Coffeyville is located in extreme southeast Kansas about seventy miles north of Tulsa, Oklahoma and sixty miles west of Joplin, Missouri. The city is situated about one-half mile north of the Oklahoma-Kansas state line. Coffeyville was founded in 1869 as an Indian trading post by Col. James A. Coffey. Coffeyville expanded due to the arrival of the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston railroad in 1871. Captain Napoleon B. Blanton conducted the official survey of the town. Colonel Coffey and Captain Blanton tossed a coin for the name of the town. Colonel Coffey won (Coffeyville History 2008). The city of 16,000 residents was built along the Verdigris River which has been held in its banks by the levees since the early 1960s (Hegeman, USAToday.com 2007).

June 29, 2007 flash flooding affected homes in “Flood Zone A”, a 100-year flood plain. July 1, 2007, water cresting the levees flooded “Flood Zone B” (Price 2008). The local refinery, Coffeyville Resources LLC, leaked oil which polluted the water. It flooded approximately one-third of the town with almost 42,000 gallons of crude oil (Telegraph-Herald 2007). The river crested at 30.7 feet, about four feet higher than the levee. Water poured over the levee for almost three days (Price 2008).

More than 400 houses were destroyed beyond being inhabitable. Many did not have flood insurance because their houses were not considered to be in a flood plain (Riccardi 2007). The estimated loss in terms of homes alone is \$15.8 million. Coffeyville Resources LLC did purchase 313 of the 327 homes destroyed by the oil leak (Price 2008 and Coffeyville History 2008). All of those houses have been demolished (Price 2008). Virgil Horn, the mayor of Coffeyville, lost his home to the flood. “None of us were prepared for it. We lost everything” (Riccardi 2007).



- ★ Joint Forces Headquarters
- ▲ National Guard response to flooding in SE Kansas July 2007

Figure 3. Southeast Kansas Flooding in July 2007

Source: Map taken from Kansas Tornado Recovery and Flood Response, National Guard SITREP #47

When asked why she thought the President made a personal appearance in Greensburg but not in Coffeyville, City Clerk Cindy Price stated that it is because, “...floods are not glamorous. The water comes in and destroys, but when it goes back there is just the water mark it leaves behind – that kind of damage does not really show up on television cameras.” She indicated that during meetings about collecting government recovery funds, government officials had told her about the lack of glamour of flooding and that being the reason for smaller amounts of money and less publicity. Also, because of the way that flood damage can be assessed, the assessment of many of the homes was that they were only partially destroyed (Price 2008).

Governor Sebelius took a helicopter tour of the region. Representative Todd Tiahrt whose district includes some of the flooded areas of Southeast Kansas repeated rumors that at least a thousand homes were lost (Hollingsworth 2007).

Case Study Analysis

Table 3. Case Study Summary

	Hurricane Katrina	Greensburg Tornado	Coffeyville Floods
Did the National Guard respond?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of National Guard to respond?	50,000 +	500+	330+
Was National Guard response covered in local media?	Yes	Yes	Yes, daily for approximately 3 weeks
Was the National Guard response covered in state level media?	Yes	Yes, briefly	Yes, briefly
Was the National Guard response covered in national level media	Yes	Yes, briefly	Yes, briefly
Examples of unsuccessful media coverage of response	Reports of National Guard shooting victims of hurricane who were in the Superdome	Governor Sebelius complained that the National Guard lacked equipment due to the GWOT deployments	No serious involvement of senior government officials, such as the president, governor, senators, or representatives
Examples of successful media coverage of response	Coast Guard had favorable interactions with the media throughout rescue operations	President Bush's personal visit to the area, and a follow-up visit to give high school commencement address one year later	The local newspaper, the <i>Coffeyville Journal</i> , provided daily coverage that was informative and necessary for the recovery operations in the town.
Presidential Involvement	Yes	Yes	No
Estimated \$\$ Amount of Damage	\$300 billion	\$153 million	\$2.2 million
As of September 2008, still in recovery operations?	Yes	Yes	Yes

Source: Davis et al. 2007; Yoder 2008; Price 2008; Stegman 2008; Hegeman 2007; Lothman 2008

Doctrine

FM 46-1 *Public Affairs Operations* was published in May 1997. Although the information in the manual appears to be current as it discusses the embedding of reporters into units, it is ten years old and does not provide a current operational picture with examples from the Global War on Terror or specific response to domestic natural disasters. On page 26, the manual address “training for Soldiers to interact with and operate under the scrutiny of the press.” It also speaks of the possibility for training of journalists in order for them to have a better understanding of the “rights and responsibilities of the military community.” Media who were to be embedded into units in Iraq were trained. Furthermore, this manual is too old to address the current doctrine of Brigade Combat Teams and how a mobile public affairs detachment could assist a brigade combat team.

CALL Initial Impressions Report No. 06-11 Disaster Response Hurricanes Katrina and Rita provides a two-page summary of a public affairs officer’s efforts to produce a message about the National Guard response despite being severely understaffed. A photograph of an interview in Mississippi does not indicate specifically who or what the interview is about, and does not offer a date. The picture appears to be a staged picture for training. The summary does indicate that although an MPAD was available in Belle Chase, Louisiana, the division Public Affairs Office had no tasking authority over it. They did establish a working relationship, but not one that a senior command could control. The report provides key information and public affairs messages used during operations and lesson learned. It provides two DOTMLPF

implications, one for training and one for personnel (CALL Initial Impressions Report No. 06-11, 81-83).

CALL Newsletter No. 07-04 dated October 2006 *Media is the Battlefield: Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures* produced the same information, verbatim and including the photograph, that had been produced in the Initial Report 06-11 (CALL Newsletter No. 07-04, 59-61).

Army Regulation 360-1, *Army Public Affairs Program*, dated September 15, 2000 superseded three publications by combining pertinent information from all of them into one document. The three publications were AR 360-5 *Public Information*, AR 36-61 *Community Relations*, and AR 360-81 *Command Information Program. Communicators Guide for Federal, State, Regional, and Local Communicators* by the Federal Communicators Network published December 2000, revised for the third time in December 2001 is not Army doctrine, but a great resource for public affairs, information operations, and strategic communication. Army Regulation 360-1, page 2, reads as follows:

For the purpose of this regulation the National Guard Bureau and the U.S. Army Reserve Command are considered major commands. State adjutants general are responsible for public affairs activities, including public information, of Army National Guard units. The chain of communication for Army National Guard Public Affairs matters is through the National Guard Bureau. The NGB and State adjutants general must keep MACOMs, the numbered armies in the continental United States, and active installation PAOs informed of training activities on active installations that will involve media and visits by very important persons (VIPs). The NGB will establish publishing authority for ARNG unit publications.

Although Joint Publications 3-61, *Public Affairs*, published May 9, 2005 devotes an entire chapter to Public Affairs in homeland defense and civil support operations, that

chapter is only two pages. State National Guard support in terms of public affairs is then determined by the state and its Public Affairs Officer (JP 3-61, IV-1). This manual recognizes the need for all agencies involved to be able to closely coordinate efforts to ensure that all the federal agencies and the National Guard are speaking the same messages as directed in the National Response Plan (page IV-2).

FM 3-61.1, *Public Affairs Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures*, published in October 2000 indicates that there are four types of Public Affairs units (page 1-4). The units are described in the organization section on the next page.

Organization

Public Affairs Detachment (PAD) is the smallest of the Public affairs units. It is usually commanded by a captain and has only seven enlisted Soldiers. It normally augments a division, a brigade, or a regiment. Often it is the Public Affairs unit that supports multinational, unified, or joint operations. Because of its small size, it can provide only limited support which includes press conferences, imagery, audio acquisition, media escorts, news gathering, and public affairs strategy planning (FM 3-61.1, 1-4 and 1-5).

Mobile Public Affairs Detachments (MPAD) usually augments a Corps Public Affairs section or an operations center. MPAD are commanded by a major and are broken into teams based upon the type of public messages such as print, broadcast, or media. Each of these teams is led by a captain. There are twenty members of an MPAD, including the officers. MPADs have a greater capability to monitor and assess the audiences and therefore provide distinctive public affairs planning and operational support. Their unique capability is that they can acquire and transmit data between

theaters and from theater to the Department of the Army Headquarters, as well as provide data directly to civilian media (FM 3-61.1, 1-6 and 1-7).

Public Affairs Operations Center (PAOC) is commanded by a lieutenant colonel and includes thirty-two Soldiers. The PAOC has a command cell that includes an Executive Officer, a Sergeant Major, maintenance personnel, supply personnel and administrative personnel. The teams are divided into Escort, Briefing, and Audio/Visual Production. The PAOC normally operates echelons above division to establish and operate media support center for civilian and military media working in a theater in order to implement the public affairs strategy and to conduct daily news media briefings (JP 3-61.1, 1-7 thru 1-9).

Broadcast Operations Detachment (BOD) consists of a command section, two broadcast teams, and a broadcast maintenance team. It is commanded by a major and includes twenty-six Soldiers. Its primary mission is to coordinate with Armed Forces Radio and Television Services and conduct on-air broadcasts, conduct news gathering, and provide alternate means of communications should tactical communications fail (FM 3-61.1, 1-9 and 1-10).

More than 65% of the total public affairs force and 85% of the deployable public affairs units are in the Army Reserve and Army National Guard (FM 3-61.1, 1-10). Disaster response is not addressed in the ARFORGEN model, on which the organizational training plans are based (Meyer 2007, 13). Typically States have a public affairs cell, usually an NCO or an officer who is part of the Adjutant General's (TAG) special staff. Many states and territories have Mobile Public Affairs Detachments. Some

share the detachment as in the case of the 133th MPAD having Guardsmen from both Tennessee and Kentucky (Wester 2004, 16).

Training

Public Affairs cells need to know and understand Information Operations (IO) tactics, techniques, and procedures in order to fill the gap when no IO personnel are present (CALL Initial Impressions Report No. 06-11, 83). Hurricane Katrina emphasized that more attention and planning needs to be allocated to these types of homeland disasters and catastrophic events (Brown 2006, 1).

Materiel

The equipment needed by an MPAD is identified in the table of equipment located on FMSWeb. Not to list anything specific and risk classification issues, the primary equipment listed is used for both basic Soldier skills tasks and mission specific tasks. The MPAD is assigned individual weapons for each member. Force protection equipment such as chemical alarms and other protective equipment. Passive force protection equipment such as camouflage nets and night vision goggles are included as well. Mission specific equipment includes cables, office machines, generators, light sets, cargo trucks, command post vehicles, telephone sets, audio/video equipment, and computers (FMSWeb 2008).

Leadership

More than half of MPAD unit personnel are Noncommissioned Officers or Officers (FMSWeb 2008). In terms of positions, the unit has more leadership than most units. What is critical with this leadership is that they focus on the institutional training

and education of the leadership and the building of the relationships with the media personnel at every level: local, state, and national. The training and education will ensure that proper planning for missions and utilization of the unit's personnel and equipment takes place. Building relationships should ensure that the media in the area will want to participate in planning and exercises that will result in more complete and accurate accounts of future response operations.

Personnel

Public Affairs Officers serve in a Functional Area instead of a branch, such as Infantry, Armor, or Logisticians. Their training is supervised by the Defense Information School and through the Army Correspondence Course Program. Active duty PAO alternates his assignments between basic branch assignments and public affairs assignments. The idea is that the Public Affairs Officers has military experience in another branch and therefore brings added value to the program (FM 46-1, 45-46). Often, Department of the Army Civilians are used to augment the stateside forces, especially in installation and regional support. Overseas, local nationals are hired to augment the unit primarily because of the language capabilities and cultural skills (FM 46-1, 45).

With the exception of joint, combined, unified brigade task force headquarters, separate or enhanced brigades, and armored cavalry regiments, there are no organic public affairs assets available below the division level. Frequently, the staff judge advocate general (JAG) or the brigade adjutant serves as the unit public affairs representative (Wright 2003).

Commanders should resource the public affairs office with staff needed to support domestic response operations. Staffs should plan and coordinate for the appropriate level of media support for the natural disaster. Staffs should also identify civilian skill sets to augment the public affairs sections (CALL Initial Impressions Report No. 06-11, 83). MPADs may be assigned in direct support of other public affairs units in the area as a unit or as individuals. However, it is important to maintain the integrity of the unit in order to avoid degradation of the capabilities and possibly having a negative impact on the mission. “The function of the public affairs team is to provide public affairs support to the units. The most efficient use of an MPAD is accomplished when it is deployed as a whole unit (FMSWeb 2008). The equipment used by the personnel of the unit requires some cooperation during the operation.

Facilities

The facilities needed by an MPAD are only marginally different from operational units. The MPAD needs an area to train basic Soldier skills. Just as any operational units would need, they need administrative offices, supply offices, storage facilities, arms rooms, and areas to plan. Their special requirements are the ability to integrate specialized electronic technology with the buildings and other facilities that they would use. This primarily means the need for expanded electrical connectivity, Internet connectivity, and wire services. An MPAD must be able to have facilities available with the capability to house media representatives if needed, and to conduct large scale briefings that will be videotaped.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, CONCLUSION

More than 20 years ago, (former) Army Chief of Public Affairs Major General Patrick Brady said, “*Clausewitz may not have listed information as a principle of war, but today it is, whether we like it or not.*” Trouble may arise if we do not inform the people by allowing the commercial media into the planning, practice, and execution of military operations, including domestic response operations by the National Guard (Eder 2007, 67). We should not wait for another terrorist attack or natural disaster to remind us of the importance of getting the response story of the National Guard out to the public so that they are aware of the capabilities present (Snider 2006, 20). Whether military leaders like it or not, the next time disaster overwhelms civilian first-responders, the Americans will seek and expect assistance from the armed forces (Moore 2007, 57).

National Guardsmen must be prepared to interface with the media in the form of print, wire, television, Internet, and blogs to communicate information at the tactical, operational, and strategic level (Seiber 2007, 1). As Major General Guy Swan III, Director of Operations at USNORTHCOM, has said, “*Knowing all of the players prior to a disaster occurring is key to success*” (Rodriguez 2008, 80). Leveraging the media is more than just the policy by which the military permits the media to cover the military during operations (English 2005, 44). The National Guard must realize that the media will accompany military operations everywhere, including and especially during domestic natural disaster or crisis response. Military leaders must cooperate with the media and provide them with reliable information which will favor the National Guard story (Aniola 2007, 32).

Summary

Table 4. DOTMLPF Summary

	Recommended changes
Doctrine	Update the doctrine based upon lessons learned from recent operations. Army Regulations and Field Manuals should be reviewed no less than every 5 years, and updated after CALL publishes lessons learned from a recent operation that change the manner in which the Army conducts missions, as Hurricane Katrina did.
Organization	Improve the organization by permanently establishing an MPAD for every state and territory. The MPAD should be assigned to the State HQ or to the Troop Command. In State which are at-risk for natural disasters or crisis, such as coastal states, there should be regional MPAD who could augment the State during a disaster response. Washington D.C. should have two MPAD in order to have one available for national coverage and one for local coverage.
Training	el assigned to the MPAD should train with local and state media outlets at every nity. Training with National media outlets should be conducted by the Washington D.C. dedicated to that mission. MPAD units should be the media-relations trainers of al Guardsmen. Branch qualify National Guard Public Affairs Officers with the necessary and instruction. Recruit and fill the Public Affairs occupational specialties.
Materiel	Materiel should include production equipment, satellite equipment, and computer equipment that will enhance the ability to tell the National Guard's story, as well as that materiel already designated to MPAD by MTOE.
Leadership	Leaders from NGB to each State and Territory should mandate the planning of media into every operational exercise conducted. Every leader should be required to initiate, foster, and develop relationships with all local media outlets (television, print, radio).
Personnel	50% assigned MPAD personnel should be full time Guardsmen or technicians in order to maintain established relationships and support the operational planning with the local media.
Facilities	States and Territories have either existing facilities or access to facilities through memorandums of understanding that can sustain audio-visual upgrades to support the MPAD mission.
Policy	National Guard Bureau must emphasize the MPAD units, training, planning, and military education through strict command policy in order to ensure its accomplishment.

Source: Created by author

Recommendations

This study recommends that the National Guard ensure each State includes a Mobile Public Affairs Detachment in its unit organizations. Generally speaking, the State should be allowed to consider where it is organization the MPAD would best serve; however, two recommendations would be either the State Joint Forces Headquarters or the Troop Command. Recommendations in the DOTMLPF format follow.

Doctrine

Leverage the recent legislation that will enhance training and possibly provide more funding for training within the National Guard. Senators Patrick Leahy and Kit Bond introduced the National Defense Enhancement and National Guard Empowerment Act in April 2006 as one aspect of the broader mandate to review and recommend improvements to Reserve Component organization, training, equipment, compensation, and support to best meet the national security requirements of the United States (Kim 2007, 4).

There are only two manuals listed as mission training plans for the public affairs community on the <http://www.apd.army.mil/> website. Besides the public affairs army regulation, these are the only references provided for such a monumental task as presenting the Army's image to a worldwide audience. As a point of reference, Military Police have twenty-five references listed. Doctrine needs to be developed that specifically addresses the current training needs of Army journalists in a 24-hour, instant news environment.

One of the problems is the outdated Public Affairs Manual FM 46-1 dated 30 May 1997. Too much emphasis is put on the community responsibility for maintaining good

public relations and not enough on the Guard unit's responsibility within that community. FM 46-1 should have been revised at the same time as AR 360-1. Having all the information in one location is convenient; however, public affairs field manuals still refer the readers to the outdated regulations. The Public Affairs community is likely very much aware of the references to old doctrine and that the readers need to go to the new regulation, however, often the staff officer who is conducting the public affairs mission is not a trained public affairs officer. Manuals that support current Army Regulations are necessary. The current doctrine and historical practices hinder commanders' abilities to visualize human factors in their area of operations (Baldwin 2007, 16). Media-military relationships must be based upon a mutual understanding and respect between the parties involved; allowing the media access to information whenever it is possible (Centers of Excellence 2007, 16).

Army Regulation 360-1 is written primarily for active duty operations, even given that 65% and 85% of the public affairs units are in the U.S. Army Reserves and the Army National Guard. However, it does provide a comprehensive document that links the federal law to the actions that most public affairs organizations will have to consider while presenting information to the public.

JP 3-61 devotes only two pages to homeland defense and domestic support to civil authorities. In those two pages, it recognizes the often dual status role of the Public Affairs Officer and the need to coordinate with many different federal agencies at once in order to ensure a unity of voice in the messages sent to the public (JP 3-61, IV-1 and IV-2). Without thorough training and much coordination prior to the disaster, this would be an impossible task for one individual. Not to mention that coordination is often

accomplished by individuals who have years of building a positive working relationship. The positive issue of the joint publication is that it directly addresses the role of the National Guard in response to domestic support to civil authorities. While it does not specifically address response to natural disasters, one can infer that domestic civil support would include response to disaster missions.

The National Guard at the national level needs to adopt the public affairs principles of the United States Coast Guard and build those principles into their public affairs doctrine, training, and leadership emphasis. Those principles are listed here again as the Coast Guard's Public Affairs Program five primary objectives:

- Keeping the American public informed about the Coast Guard's ongoing operations and programs, thereby fostering understanding and support for all our missions.
- Making our world a better place to serve and live by taking an active role in community activities and challenges.
- Helping Coast Guard leadership attracts, motivate and retain highly professional people to continue our tradition of dedicated quality service to the country.
- Helping save lives by educating and informing the American public, thus reducing accidents and casualties.
- Educating elected and public officials of the Coast Guard's role in their community and nation for continued healthy fiscal support for our service (Austin 2007, 22).

Organization

One reason for perceived lack of response of the National Guard to Hurricane Katrina was that they sent any unit available. Once units arrived in Mississippi or Louisiana, they conducted a number of tasks to include: evacuation assistance, search and

rescue, security, commodity and fuel distribution, medical care, restoration of communications, law-enforcement support, debris removal, and the rebuilding of infrastructure (Davis et al. 2007, 25-25). However, some of these tasks required specialized skills that initial units did not have. This required calling in additional units and gave the perception that the National Guard had responded slowly, when in fact, it had responded prior to landfall. In the same way that this occurred with operational units, it occurs with public affairs units. Each state needs to staff, include into mission planning, include into mission operations, and equip a Mobile Public Affairs Detachment in order to ensure that the Guard's message reaches audiences other than its own. Additionally, at the national level, the NGB should have two MPAD available for deployment in a general support role. These units would be sent wherever and whenever National Guard units deployed domestically in order to provide support to the state MPAD or to address a national audience. Improve the organization by permanently establishing an MPAD for every state and territory. The MPAD could be assigned to the State Joint Force Headquarters or to the Troop Command Brigade.

Training

Because the PAO is often not "branch qualified" and has primary duties as the JAG or the Adjutant, public affairs may not be a strong skill set within the unit. The challenge is to train the force not what to think, but how to think (Eder 2007, 68). Units should research the media in their states and communities, and develop a list of reporters who are appropriate for covering the organization (Wolfe 2005, 95). All inquiries from the media need to be viewed as an opportunity to include the media into the training or operation, and the unit should seek to improve the relationship with all media through the

reporters (Wolfe 2005, 100). Because the National Guard is likely to be committed to disaster relief operations, they need to develop a pool of expertise on civilian disaster relief and train everyone involved (Gordenker and Weiss 1991, 79-80). This civilian expertise should include the media as well as all the other key players of disaster response.

The best way to improve military-media relations and to create better understanding between the two is to organize a permanent training structure, which will engage the military and the media in joint preparation exercises. Exercises that include local media representatives will increase the level of mutual respect and understanding (Aniola 2007, 43). The media need to be invited to monthly and annual training events. They also need to be involved in the planning of these events so that it is their event as well and not something they were invited to cover as an afterthought. Having the media involved in the planning will ensure more realistic training and will help to build those media- military relationships.

Materiel

This study makes no recommendations about the materiels required for an MPAD. The materiels needed to establish and operate an MPAD are already in the Army system and would therefore not be an issue. The real issue would be allocating the funds. Once again, because MPADs already exist within the Army system, this would be a monetary issue and not a major restructuring issue.

Leadership

“Every senior leader must personally set the example by taking a proactive rather than reactive approach to dealing with the media,” General Dennis J. Reimer, U.S. Army Chief of Staff from 1995 to 1999 (FM 46-1).

While it is unpleasant to have to explain why actions were taken that ultimately turned out not to be the best, it is better to engage the media to put the situation to rest, instead of being inaccessible. The story will go away much quicker if an agency engages the media, instead of giving the media a new story with the assistance of others who will speak to them (Austin 2007, 40). Telling the response story of the National Guard will ultimately evolve into exclusive stories for individual reporters as different ones speak with different Guardsmen throughout the mission. This is good for the National Guard. It shows the breadth of the involvement. It addresses the various stories of response out there. It gives the twenty-four hour media an opportunity for a fresh outlook at an ongoing story. To ensure that the National Guard’s efforts to engage the media do not simply result in an annex buried at the back of an operations order, they must elevate media effects to a higher level of importance in all operations. Elevating the importance of effective media engagement means that media engagement should not solely be the purview of a command’s Public Affairs Officer, but of the entire command (English 2005, 44).

The real need of the leadership in this analysis is to have individuals who are capable of initiating and fostering the relationships between the media and the State National Guard personnel. This relationship would be akin to a command climate. Just as each commander has a different relationship with the Soldiers of a unit, each commander will have a different working relationship with the media. Initiating and fostering that relationship will make the difference in the types and frequency of media

coverage of the National Guard units within the State, or even at the local level. The idea is to get every commander to utilize the media from the planning stage forward and get the unit's story into the media as often as possible during normal, monthly operations so that when the unit is mobilized, the media cares enough to follow it and tell the its story to the people back home.

Media and National Guard relationships at the national level should consider a greater purpose than marketing and recruiting. Media representative from national television stations, radio stations, newspaper, and news magazines should be included into the national level planning for natural disaster response. The media would then be able to provide the national audience with a response story that indicates the level of commitment that the National Guard has toward the American citizens whom they serve.

One report points to the fact that there had been little or no active participation by the DoD, state governors, or other state officials in planning for or conducting an exercise to a response to different hazards and disasters (Benivegna 2007, 51). It is time for the National Guard leadership to plan and conduct state-wide response exercises that include media from local news outlets. While television is always the sought-after form of media, leaders should engage every form – print, web, television, radio, etc. – of media who are interested in their unit. Every journalist should be considered an asset to the unit.

Personnel

Battalion units and below may assign the adjutant, the executive officer, or a very bright assistant staff officer as the public affairs representative. A critical technique is to assign a dedicated Noncommissioned Officer to ensure that public affairs receive the

amount of attention that it should. The important thing to remember is to assign the personnel before operations and to train them before operations.

Should each state gain a mobile public affairs detachment, recruiting, training, and assigning those personnel would duplicate the process of operational units. In the National Guard, it is common practice to maintain unit integrity during mobilizations and deployments. Continuing this practice with MPAD would ensure the proper use of their capabilities.

Facilities

States will need to provide facilities that can handle the audio-visual needs of a Mobile Public Affairs Detachment. Such facilities would require Internet access for many computers, communications systems that have the capability to provide direct communications with the television, radio, or newspaper offices. During disaster support operations, the States would need to provide facilities to a media operations center. States do not have to have these facilities on a full-time basis, unless they would be used by the full-time public affairs staff. States could save money by establishing memorandums of use with existing facilities or sharing space with state government public affairs, given the proper professional relationships have been developed.

Further Research Topics

Future research topics that may have an impact on the way that the media report response to domestic disasters include the impact that celebrities have when they make claims on national television about the disaster response. During Hurricane Katrina, especially, because New Orleans bred talented individuals, the number of celebrities who

brought attention to the disaster was unusual. A content analysis could show the influence that their celebrity status had on the rescue and recovery operations and recommend possible ways those national and local responders can capitalize on their influence.

Another research topic that needs to occur in order to more fully understand this study is a case study of an actual deployment of a Mobile Public Affairs Detachment. If not a deployment to a combat theater, such as Iraq, then definitely a mobilization to a natural disaster response or a support to civil authorities response such as Operation Jump Start in which the Guard assisted the Customs and Border Patrol for two years so that they could get their force to the level it needed to be to secure the U.S.-Mexico border in the American Southwest. The idea would be to consider a case study of a National Guard MPAD, or to compare and contrast the deployments and employments of National Guard MPAD to those of an active duty MPAD.

Because of Hurricane Ike and the vast similarities to Hurricane Katrina in terms of category and location, a case study comparison of the two would be particularly interesting. Did local government officials in Louisiana learn lessons from Katrina and do a better job planning and preparing for the next disaster? It would be very interesting to note the media coverage differences between the two and how those differences came about.

Finally, further research of a single case study of National Guard response to a natural disaster, instead of a case study comparison of more than one response would likely yield a better understanding of all the aspects of the mission that the Guard must consider at one time, and study how those can be told sufficiently in the media. The

scope of a disaster can be so monumental, as in the case of Hurricane Katrina, or have so many contributing factors, such as the weather patterns in Spring 2007 that led to many tornadoes and floods in Kansas as well as other Midwest states, that it really cannot be compared to another case study.

Conclusion: Include the Media

A United States Army Public Affairs Officer commented about the role of embedded reporters in Iraq: “Let their cameras capture the images.” Make it easy for reporters to do their jobs. Include them in the planning process. Talk to them about every part of the operation that can be openly discussed. Give them the context of the operation and background information on the unit so that they do not have to search for it themselves and risk getting it wrong (Helmus, Paul, and Glenn 2007, 167). The media should be viewed by the military as lines of activity begin with overt methods such as embedding and applying pressure on the media to censor themselves, and continue to less domineering methods such as creation of press releases and timing the release of information when it will best effect military operations (Center of Excellence 2007, 96). During disaster relief operations, the National Guard wins every engagement with the community when it has conducted its response mission. However if they fail to gather the support of the local population or to tell their story in the media for the national population, they have failed. Supporting and defending the homeland is the role of the National Guard and American citizens have a right and a privilege to know that their forces are working for them (Helmus, Paul, and Glenn 2007, 27).

The difficulty with engaging the media over the long-term is that it is difficult to measure success. Credibility with the media is earned through relationships that take

many years to build. The nature of the National Guard, the same people serving in the same communities for several years, provides the opportunity to build these relationships and gain the media's confidence. Providing fast, truthful, credible information to the media is essential in order to maintain this credibility (JP 3-61, III-20). The Guard must maintain the idea that there is no end-state to a public affairs mission; rather, it is a steady-state mission of interaction and cooperation. Towards that end, the National Guard must continually seek to develop long-term relationships through improved doctrine, a revision of organization, training that includes media representatives, equipping new or existing organizations with updated media assets, training leaders to include media operations in their planning, recruiting the personnel needed to conduct a media mission, and provide other facilities and funding as would be required to interact favorably with media organizations (English 2005, 44). Great things have been accomplished through personal relationships developed by National Guardsmen and their communities. Even when other efforts have failed, the sincerity and the personal warmth of American Citizen-Soldiers has won (Helmus, Paul, and Glenn 2007, 32). The Guard must establish permanent relationships with media representatives. The media, as professionals, would then be challenged with maintaining objectivity and fairness in their reporting (Kracke 2004, 53-54). When a disaster strikes, it is time for the Guard's story to dominate the media.

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